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JANUARY 19, 1965

REPORT No. 6

**The**  
**Joint Legislative Committee on**  
**Un-American Activities**

**STATE OF LOUISIANA**



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**Hon. John J. McKeithen**  
**Governor**

**"ACTIVITIES OF THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE**  
**EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.**  
**IN LOUISIANA"**

**PART 3**

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# **The Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities**

## **STATE OF LOUISIANA**



**Hon. John J. McKeithen  
Governor**

**"ACTIVITIES OF THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE  
EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.  
IN LOUISIANA"**

**PART 3**

*Prepared and released by the  
Joint Legislative Committee On Un-American Activities,  
State of Louisiana  
Old State Capitol,  
Baton Rouge, Louisiana*

**JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**

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**Jack N. Rogers, Committee Counsel**

**Col. Frederick B. Alexander, Staff Director**

**SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 12**

**REGULAR SESSION, 1964**

**A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION**

By: Messrs. Knowles, Tessier, Davis, Poston, Broussard, Montgomery, and Reps. Hogan, Cooper and McMillian

**WHEREAS**, this state and this country face grave public danger from enemies both within and without our boundaries, and

**WHEREAS**, these subversive groups and persons under the color of protection afforded by the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution seek to destroy us and the ideals which we fought to preserve and subject us to the domination of foreign powers and ideologies, and

**WHEREAS**, Louisiana, as one of the laboratories of this great country, may study profitably this problem within its boundaries and enact remedial legislation if facts therefor are made available, and

**WHEREAS**, necessary and desirable legislation to meet this grave problem and to assist local enforcement officers to be effective must be based on a thorough and impartial investigation by a competent and active legislative committee.

**THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED** by the Senate of the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, the House of Representatives concurring therein, that there is hereby created the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, which Committee shall consist of ten members, five to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives from the membership of the House and five to be appointed by the President of the Senate from the membership of the Senate, which committee shall study, investigate and analyze all facts relating directly or indirectly to the subject expressed in the recitals of this resolution; to the activities of groups and organizations which have as their objectives, or as part of their objectives, the overthrow or destruction of the State of Louisiana by force, violence or other unlawful means; to all organizations known to be or suspected of being dominated or controlled by a power seeking to impose a foreign political theory upon the government and people of the State of Louisiana, and all organizations



seeking by force, violence or other illegal means to deprive any citizens of the State of Louisiana or the State of Louisiana itself from the rights guaranteed to the citizens and the States by the Constitution of the United States; to all persons who belong to or are affiliated with such groups or organizations; to the manner and extent in which such activities affect the safety, welfare and security of this state and the citizens of this state in National Defense, the functioning of any state agency, unemployment relief and other forms of public assistance, educational institutions in this state, including but not limited to the operation, effect, administration, enforcement and needed revision of any and all laws in any way bearing upon or relating to the subject of this resolution.

Be It Further Resolved that the Committee shall have the authority to:

(a) Select a chairman and a vice chairman from its membership; and to employ and fix the compensation of a secretary and such legal, clerical, investigative, expert and technical assistants as it may deem necessary.

(b) Contract and deal with such other agencies, public or private, as it may deem necessary for the rendition and affording of such services, facilities, studies and reports as will best enable the committee to carry out the purposes for which it is created.

(c) Cooperate with and secure the cooperation of parish, city, and other law enforcement agencies in investigating any matter within the scope of this resolution,

(d) Cooperate with and meet with similar committees of other states and of the Federal Government, or representatives thereof, outside of this state, and expenses necessarily incurred in connection therewith by any of the members or staff of the committee, thereunto duly authorized by the chairman, shall constitute a proper charge against the sums allocated to the committee.

(e) Do any and all other things necessary or convenient to enable it fully and adequately to exercise its powers, perform its duties, and accomplish the objects and purposes of this resolution, and

(f) Adopt and from time to time amend such rules governing its procedure as may appear appropriate.

Be It Further Resolved that every department, commission, board, agency, officer and employee of the State Government of Lou-

isiana and of any political subdivision, parish, city or public district of or in this state, shall furnish the committee and any subcommittee, upon request, any such information, records and documents as the Committee or subcommittee deems proper for the accomplishment of the purposes for which the committee is created; provided, however, that this provision shall not extend to, nor shall it be construed to make available to the committee or any subcommittee thereof, any record or other document which under the law is made a confidential record.

Be It Further Resolved that the committee shall have the power and authority to hold hearings at any place in Louisiana, which meetings may be public or private, to subpoena witnesses, administer oaths, require the production of books and records pertinent to any inquiry before the Committee and to do all other things necessary to accomplish the purposes of this resolution.

Be It Further Resolved that the Committee shall have authority to apply to any court of competent jurisdiction for enforcement of any order issued by it for the production of books, records or other documents or to compel the attendance of any witnesses subpoenaed to appear before it and, upon request of the committee, the Attorney General shall prosecute any witness who is guilty of refusal to testify or who gives false testimony, and persons guilty of false swearing or of giving false testimony shall be punished in accordance with the criminal laws of this state relating to false swearing or perjury, as the case may be, and

Be It Further Resolved that the committee shall submit its findings and recommendations to the Legislature at each of its regular sessions and at such other times as the committee may deem necessary and desirable.

Be It Further Resolved that the members of the committee created herein shall serve without compensation but shall receive the same per diem and travel allowance in the performance of their duties as is provided for members of the Legislature.

Be It Further Resolved that the per diem and travel allowance herein authorized and all other expenses incurred by the committee shall be paid out of funds appropriated or otherwise dedicated for the use of the committee; provided, however, that the disbursements for all expenses incurred by the committee, including the payment of per diem and travel allowances for

members as herein authorized shall be approved by the chairman of the committee.

s/ C. C. Aycock

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*Lieutenant Governor and President of The Senate*

s/ Vail M. Delony

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*Speaker of The House of Representatives*

Chair-

**Joint Legislative Committee**

**on**

**Un-American Activities**

**State of Louisiana**



**Hearings held**

**December 21, 1964**

**at the Committee Office**

**Old State Capitol Building**

**Baton Rouge, Louisiana**



**Hon. Jesse M. Knowles, *Chairman***

**Jack N. Rogers, *Committee Counsel***

**THE  
JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE  
ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
STATE OF LOUISIANA**

**THE MINUTES OF THE HEARING OF THE COMMITTEE,  
HELD IN THE COMMITTEE'S OFFICE, OLD STATE CAPITOL  
BUILDING, BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA, MONDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1964, COMMENCING AT 10:00 O'CLOCK A. M.: CHAIRMAN, J. M. KNOWLES, PRESIDING.**

\* \* \* \* \*

**BY SEN. KNOWLES:**

Gentlemen, the Committee will now come to order. We will open this Committee Hearing with prayer from Senator Moore.

**BY SEN. MOORE:**

Our Holy Father, we do thank Thee for all of the blessings of life that Thou hast poured out onto us, blessing of health, happiness, and the freedom which we now enjoy as American citizens. Father, we do thank Thee for the privilege of assembling together in this Committee, striving and undertaking to find out facts and to do the things which we feel might guard against these dangers that imperil our nation. Father, we ask Thee to guide each action as we work together here today; we ask Thee to bless each member of this Committee, and bless this Committee, and all of those who seek to further Americanism and the freedom which we, as Americans, have known in the past. Father, we ask Thee to bless each member of the Legislature of this State; we ask Thee to bless our State and our Nation that we might continue to walk closer to Thee day by day; we ask these things in Jesus name, and for His sake. Amen.

**BY SEN. KNOWLES:**

I now ask our Staff Director, Col. Alexander to call the roll.

**BY COL. ALEXANDER:**

Representative Stinson, present; Representative Schoenberger,



absent; Representative DeWitt, here; Representative Adams, absent; Senator Knowles, here; Senator Montgomery, absent; Senator Myrick, here; Senator Mitchell, here; Senator Moore, here. Six present, and we have a quorum.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Gentlemen, the purpose of this Hearing is to further carry out the mandate to our Committee from the Legislature as set forth in Senate Concurrent Resolution 12, Regular Session of 1964. Our Committee Staff has continued its research into the files and records of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, our Committee counsel having made a study of 800 or more individual documents. Our purpose today is to learn more about the connections of the Southern Conference Educational Fund with the Communist Party and various other organizations. We also seek to learn more about how the Southern Conference Educational Fund operates, how it is financed, and how it recruits people to do the work of the Communists. Our past investigation has given us some detailed information on the personalities who operate the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and some of this information will be brought out again today.

The legislative purpose of this Committee and of this Hearing, specifically, is to learn more about subversive activities in Louisiana, so that we might recommend to the Legislature improvements and modifications of the Louisiana Statutes which are designed to control such activities. Mr. counsel, please proceed.

\* \* \* \* \*

THE WITNESS, JACK N. ROGERS, ESQ., AFTER FIRST HAVING BEEN DULY SWORN TO TELL THE TRUTH, THE WHOLE TRUTH, AND NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH, SO HELP HIM GOD, TESTIFIED AS FOLLOWS:

BY MR. ROGERS:

Mr. Chairman, I would like first to give the Committee some background information on the overall approach of the Communist Party on the question of infiltration of the racial movement in the United States.

In 1928, at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist Party, the Party adopted a program of "self determination" for the Southern negro. I have here a reproduction of a book, written in 1928



by a man named John Pepper—actually John Pepper was one of his aliases; his real name was Joseph Pogany. He went under several other aliases at different times, and he wrote, as a Communist, a book outlining and detailing the Communist Party's plan to use the negro movement, toward revolution in the United States of America. I have photographed certain pages out of his book which I want to offer into evidence for reproduction in our report, and I give these now to our staff director. I will read to the Committee some of the material which is in these particular pages.

(MR. ROGERS READS INTO THE RECORD.)

I would like to call the Committee's attention particularly to the date of this document, this is 1928.

(REPRESENTATIVE SCHOENBERGER ENTERED THE HEARING ROOM.)

Most of the aims set forth by the Communist Party in 1928 toward using the negro movement have already been accomplished in the United States; practically all of them have been. I think it is significant to note that it is reported reliably that at a recent meeting in Shreveport, Louisiana, one of the national officers of the NAACP commented that the next main endeavor of the NAACP in the United States would be an attack upon the question of racial intermarriage in this country. I submit the document, Mr. Chairman.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let the document be entered in evidence.

BY SEN. MITCHELL:

Isn't what's in that book comparatively the same as the Socialist Platform of 1932?

BY MR. ROGERS:

Very similar, yes sir, Senator. Now, along about 1928, there was a big monetary fund set up called "The American Fund for Public Service," popularly known as "The Garland Fund." This was a Communist dominated fund. In 1928 the Fund is reported to have given to the NAACP \$100,000. They have given much more over the later years to the NAACP and to certain extremely radical left-wing causes.

The Communist Party has fought for National control of the

WORKER'S LIBRARY No. 9.

# AMERICAN NEGRO PROBLEMS



**WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS**

33 East 125th Street

New York

Exhibit 1. Cover of Pamphlet by Communist John Pepper (Joseph Pogany),  
Written in 1928.

2)

To this brief foreword to the following essay on some of the basic Negro problems in America, we wish to add the principal demands for the oppressed Negro masses as embodied in the Platform of the Workers (Communist) Party of America:

1. Abolition of the whole system of race discrimination. Full racial, political, and social equality for the Negro race.
2. Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of Negroes. Abolition of all Jim Crow laws. The law shall forbid all discrimination against Negroes in selling or renting houses.
3. Abolition of all laws which disfranchise the Negroes.
4. Abolition of laws forbidding intermarriage of persons of different races.
5. Abolition of all laws and public administration measures which prohibit, or in practice prevent, Negro children or youth from attending general public schools or universities.
6. Full and equal admittance of Negroes to all railway station waiting rooms, restaurants, hotels, and theatres.
7. Federal law against lynching and the protection of the Negro masses in their right of self-defense.
8. Abolition of discriminatory practices in courts against Negroes. No discrimination in jury service.
9. Abolition of the convict lease system and of the chain-gang.
10. Abolition of all Jim Crow distinction in the army, navy, and civil service.
11. Immediate removal of all restrictions in all trade unions against the membership of Negro workers.
12. Equal opportunity for employment, wages, hours, and working conditions for Negro and white workers. Equal pay for equal work for Negro and white workers.

J. P.

# American Negro Problems

By JOHN PEPPER

The Negro question in America must be treated in its relation to the liberation struggle of the proletariat against American imperialism. *The struggle against white oppression of the Negro masses is a part of the proletarian revolution in America against capitalism.* The American working class cannot free itself from capitalist exploitation without freeing the Negro race from white oppression. What Marx said about the United States is still true: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

*At the same time the Negro question in the United States of America must be treated in its relations to the huge Negro masses of farmers and workers oppressed and exploited by white imperialism in Africa and South America.* The Negroes of the United States are the most advanced section of the Negro population of the world and can play a decisive role in helping and leading the liberation movement of the Negro colonies. Within the Negro population of the United States, the *Negro working class* is destined to be the vanguard of all liberation movements and may become the vanguard of the liberation movement of the Negro peasant masses on an international scale.

## A NEGRO PROLETARIAT APPEARS

The industrialization of the agrarian south of the United States, the concentration of a new Negro working-class population in the big cities of the east and north, and the entrance of the Negroes into the basic industries on a mass scale, have been changing, in the last few years, the whole social composition of the Negro race in America. *The appearance of a genuine Negro industrial proletariat creates an organizing force for the Negro race, furnishes a new working-class leadership to all Negro race movements, creates the possibility for the Negro workers under the leadership of the Com-*

Communist Party there can be no place for nationalism. The Communist Party must be the Party of internationalism.

#### TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS IN NEGRO WORK

*The appearance of a Negro industrial proletariat on a growing national mass scale makes it imperative that the main emphasis of the Party work should be placed on these new proletariat forces.* The Negro workers must be organized under the leadership of the Communist Party and drawn into joint struggle, together with the white workers. The Party must understand how to link up all racial, national demands of the Negroes with the economic and political struggles of the workers and poor farmers. Much more emphasis than before must be laid on the trade-union organization of the Negroes. The Party must penetrate all existing Negro trade unions. It is a basic task of the Communist Party to organize the Negroes into trade unions. In all the work of organizing the unorganized carried on under the leadership of the Communist Party, we must insist upon the inclusion of Negro workers with white workers in the newly organized trade unions. In the existing trade unions, the Party must fight for the admittance of Negro workers. Where the labor bureaucracy refuses to admit Negroes, it is the duty of the Communist Party to organize Negro trade unions. At the same time the principle of one union for each industry, embracing white as well as Negro workers, should be the aim of the Communist Party.

The importance of trade-union work imposes special tasks upon the T. U. E. L. The T. U. E. L. has neglected the work among the Negroes, notwithstanding the fact that these workers are objectively in a position to play a very big part in carrying through the programme of organizing the unorganized. Greater contact must be established between the T. U. E. L. and the Negro masses. The T. U. E. L. must become the champion of the rights of the Negroes in the old unions and in the organizing of new unions for both Negroes and whites, as well as separate Negro unions.

It is one of the biggest tasks of the Workers Party to extend its activities to the "Solid South," the beginning of which has been made in the election campaign. The Party was not able to carry on any work among the Negro farmers and agricultural workers of

the "black belt." It is the duty of the Party to study and analyze the conditions of the Negro farming masses, to work out demands to meet their situation, *to organize special Negro farmers' organizations as well as organizations of the agricultural workers.* It is necessary that the Party should establish new district organizations in the south, especially in the most important industrial centres. The Party organizations in these industrial centers of the south should be the bearers of the educational and organizing work of the Party among the Negro farmers and agricultural workers.

The fight against segregation, lynching, and political disfranchisement of the Negroes, must be organized. *It is necessary to help the Negro masses to organize themselves for active resistance and self-defense against the lynching terror of the Ku Klux Klan and similar terroristic gangs of the white bourgeoisie.* The U. L. D. which so far has almost completely neglected work amongst the Negro masses, must hereafter put in the forefront of its propaganda, agitation and activities, energetic campaigns against lynching and juridical oppression of the Negroes.

*The communists must participate in all national liberation movements of the Negroes which have a real mass character.* The existing national organizations and movements of the Negroes are today under the domination of the Negro petit-bourgeoisie and even their bourgeoisie. *The aim of the Communist Party must be to fight for the hegemony of the working-class elements in the national liberation movement.* The basic task of the communists is to form working-class organizations for the Negro proletariat and agricultural workers, and farmers' organizations for the Negro farmers and to turn these organizations into energetic integral forces of the whole class struggle. The communists must not forget for a moment that *the struggle for the national liberation of the Negroes includes the relentless struggle against the Negro bourgeoisie and the struggle against the influence of the petit-bourgeoisie over the Negro proletariat.* It is permissible to form a united front (for example in the form of a Negro Race Congress) of the working-class elements with the petit-bourgeois elements. The policy of the communists within this united front must be:

- (a) To free the working class from the ideological and organizational influence of the petit-bourgeois elements.
- (b) To begin the struggle for the leadership of the working class.



The communists must bear in mind that the alliance of the Negro working class with the Negro petit-bourgeoisie can be maintained only under the following conditions:

- (a) A revolutionary fight of the petit-bourgeoisie for Negro race demands against American imperialism.
- (b) No obstacles by the petit-bourgeoisie against the special class demands and organizations of the Negro workers and exploited farmers.

The communists must under no circumstances merge their organization with the petit-bourgeois organizations and must reserve for themselves fullest rights of criticism and propaganda.

The American Negro Labor Congress which is still very weak, must be reorganized and activized. The communists working within this organization should try to make it serve as an *intermediary mass organization, as a medium through which the Party can extend its work among the Negro masses and mobilize the Negro workers under its leadership.* After careful preparatory work which must be started at once, another convention of the American Negro Labor Congress should be held. For this convention a carefully worked-out program should be prepared. It should contain not only demands of the Negro workers, but also the agrarian demands of the farmers and agricultural workers.

The Negro miners' relief committee and the Harlem Tenants League are examples of united front organizations which may be set up as a means of drawing the Negro masses into struggle. But these organizations can be considered only as a beginning. The communists working within these organizations should try to broaden them, and similar committees should be organized in other Negro centers. In every case the utmost effort must be made to combine the struggle of the Negro workers with that of white workers and to draw the white workers' organizations into such united-front campaigns.

*One of the greatest shortcomings of the work of the American Party among the Negroes is the lack of sufficient Party cadres among the Negro comrades.* The next and most important task of the Party in this respect is the selection and education of a cadre of Negro communist workers. The proletarian character of the Negro Party leadership must be brought forward more clearly than before. At the same time the proletarian Negro intellectuals must be utilized

## AMERICAN NEGRO PROBLEMS

to the full. It is imperative to utilize all Party schools in the U. S. A. and abroad to train Negro comrades as leaders and for special work among the Negro farming masses.

*The activities of the Negro comrades should not be confined exclusively to the work among the Negroes, but they should participate in the general Party work.* Simultaneously white comrades must be specially trained for work among the Negroes. *The Negro Champion* must be published regularly. Every effort must be made to develop it into the mass organ of the Negro workers and working farmers. The general Party press must be utilized to its full extent for propaganda among the Negroes. A regular Negro news service must be built. *The utmost effort must be made to attract Negro workers and Negro agricultural laborers as members into the Communist Party.* The present Negro membership of the Communist Party is inadequate to fulfill the great tasks before it. A special recruiting campaign for Negro workers should be initiated in connection with the general economic and political campaigns of the Party. In the present election campaign, wherever possible Negro communist candidates should be nominated in the important Negro centers.

The Negro question in the United States must be treated in its relation to the general international Negro problem. The question of a Negro World Congress should be considered but it can be realized only if a Negro working-class leadership in the Congress can be secured. One aim and purpose of the work among the Negroes in the U. S. A. should be to organize them as the champions of the Negroes all over the world, against imperialism. A strong Negro movement in the U. S. A. will be able to influence and direct the Negro movement in all those backward parts of the world where the Negroes are oppressed by the various imperialist powers.

NAACP ever since. They have never gotten control of it on a National scale, but they have infiltrated the NAACP all of the way, and they have had some success in gaining control of various districts and local groups. There is no anti-Communist movement in the NAACP, nor in any other national negro groups, as far as we have been able to learn. There are many non-Communists in the NAACP, but we are unable to find any significant groups of anti-Communists.

Paul Crouch was the key Communist who set up this program of racial unrest in the United States. Crouch was in Moscow 7 or 8 months in 1928 setting up the basic program of the Communist Party concerning the negroes.

John Pepper, the author of this particular book that I have shown you, took part in this program and the planning in Moscow. He wrote this particular book following his education in Moscow, and his being part of the overall training program. Paul Crouch was the leader of the movement. Wherever Paul Crouch ran the Communist Party in the United States after that as a District Organizer, his wife, Sylvia Crouch, was the District Organizer of the "Young Communist League." She followed him, of course, wherever he went. He would handle the overall organization of the Party, and his wife would control the Young Communist League.

It is reported to us, and we think reliably, that James Dombrowski was chosen by the Communist Party headquarters in New York over Crouch's objections to organize the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. The first targets of the Highlander Folk School were the textile industry in North Carolina, and the University of North Carolina.

A man named Frank Graham, who was the first president of The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, knew and worked with the Crouches. He was a collaborator with the Party, and even to this day he is alive and working in this general field in the United States.

Alton Lawrence was secretary of the Socialist Party in North Carolina. Crouch, who had Lawrence under his control as a Communist Party member, evidently had Lawrence remain there in North Carolina and become an undercover member of the Communist Party. Lawrence was identified in a Congressional Hearing in 1954 as an undercover member of the District Bureau of the Communist Party in North Carolina.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was the key Communist Party apparatus in the South to carry out the Communists' racial program. Some Communist Party members were sent to Birmingham to set the program up properly at the initial founding

of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in November, 1938. The Communist Party had sent Crouch to Birmingham even before that in 1937.

In November, 1938, the Party sent Bart Logan, Alton Lawrence, and Gilbert Parks, leading North Carolina Communist Party members, to Birmingham to do the job of setting up the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. They, along with Crouch, were the steering apparatus of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. There were also many rank and file Communist Party members there from North and South Carolina at that time. Bart Logan was succeeded by a man named Sam Hall of Alabama in his Party job. Hall had been the Reserve District Organizer in the underground apparatus in Alabama prior to that.

The main significance of this, gentlemen, is that in 1954, Paul Crouch testified as a voluntary witness before the Senate Internal Subcommittee in New Orleans, and he and another ex-Communist both identified James Dombrowski as a Communist. I am speaking of Dr. James A. Dombrowski, who is currently the Director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Obviously, Paul Crouch was in a unique position to know the facts of the situation.

I have a little information on Dr. Dombrowski which we have not put into any of our previous Hearings, which I think will be of interest to the Committee. I have here a list of 6 organizations which have been declared subversive by the Attorney General of the United States, pursuant to Executive Order 10450, with which Dr. James A. Dombrowski has affiliated himself on the public record. Dr. Dombrowski also has a public record of affiliation with a large number of other organizations which have been found to be "Communist Fronts," or subversive, by Congressional Committees.

The 6 particular subversive organizations to which I refer are: The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; The American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born; The Peoples' Institute of Applied Religion; The National Negro Congress; The Southern Negro Youth Congress; and the International Workers' Order. I submit this list, Mr. Chairman, as a document for the Committee's consideration.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let the document be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

I also hold in my hand 8 typewritten pages, listing Dr. Dom-

James A. Dombrowski

**AFFILIATIONS WITH ORGANIZATIONS DESIGNATED BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER 10450:**

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The program for the Fifteenth National Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born held in Chicago, Illinois, on December 11 and 12, 1948, carried the name of James A. Dombrowski as a sponsor.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

The 1944 report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, set out that James Dombrowski was a member of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

People's Institute of Applied Religion. The 1944 report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, pointed out that James Dombrowski was listed as a sponsor of the People's Institute of Applied Religion.

National Negro Congress. The report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, dated July 21, 1947, and entitled "Testimony of Walter S. Steele Regarding Communist Activities in the United States" reflects that James Dombrowski of the SCHW was a sponsor of and a speaker at the tenth annual convention of the National Negro Congress held in Detroit from May 30, to June 2, 1946.

Southern Negro Youth Congress. The report listed directly above reflects that James Dombrowski was listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

International Workers Order. At the beginning of the judicial hearing in late 1950 in New York State with respect to the liquidation of the International Workers Order (IWO), that organization circulated a petition addressed to Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, which petition requested Governor Dewey to withdraw the liquidation proceedings against the IWO. James A. Dombrowski of New Orleans was a signer of this petition.

It was reliably reported that on April 11, 1951, a group of persons was solicited to sign an amicus curiae brief in behalf of the IWO to be presented in connection with the liquidation proceedings against the IWO in New York. James A. Dombrowski of New Orleans was a signer of this brief which, in effect, requested dismissal of the liquidation proceedings.

Exhibit 2. List of six subversive organizations with which Dr. James A. Dombrowski has publicly affiliated himself.



browski's extensive affiliations with other Communist-Front organizations.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund has now been cited 5 separate times as a Communist-Front organization; twice by the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the U. S. Congress under its old name, "Southern Conference For Human Welfare;" once, by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of the U. S. Senate under its present name, and twice by this Committee under its present name.

I offer into the record, Mr. Chairman, a photograph of the masthead of the newspaper published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund. This newspaper is called: "The Southern Patriot," and has been cited by the U. S. Congress as a "subversive publication". The masthead it lists the managers and operators of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. This is the masthead for October, 1963, and I would like to give the Committee some information about a few of these particular people who run this organization.

The "President Emeritus" of the SCEF is Aubrey W. Williams. Williams was identified by 2 ex-Communist witnesses in the 1954 Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Hearing in New Orleans as a Communist. The President, currently, is Fred L. Shuttlesworth. Fred L. Shuttlesworth is a Minister, he is a negro, and he has been very active in the racial movement. He is a close associate of Dr. Martin Luther King, and he is also an ex-convict, having been convicted of bootlegging.

The Vice-Presidents include John M. Coe. John Coe is a former president of the National Lawyers' Guild, one of the most well-identified Communist Front Organizations in the United States, cited as "the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party."

The Treasurer of the organization is Benjamin E. Smith. Smith is an attorney in New Orleans. He is an active officer of the National Lawyers' Guild. He and his partner, Bruce C. Waltzer, are both registered agents of Communist Cuba, registered with the Attorney General of the United States under the Foreign Agents' Registration Act.

I hold in my hand, Mr. Chairman, a photographic copy of the entire Registration Statement filed with the Attorney General of the United States, signed with the signatures of Benjamin E. Smith, and Bruce C. Waltzer, in which they register formally as agents of Communist Cuba. I offer them into the record, Mr. Chairman.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let them be received into the record.



**THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT**

# **The Southern Patriot**

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**Vol. 21 No. 8**



**Oct., 1963**

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Exhibit 3. Masthead of "The Southern Patriot" for October, 1963.

BY MR. ROGERS:

The "special consultant" of the SCEF is a colored woman named Ella J. Baker, who left a job as Executive Secretary to Martin Luther King to come to work for the Southern Conference Educational Fund. The "Executive Director" of the Southern Conference Educational Fund is James A. Dombrowski, of whom I have already spoken.

The editor of this newspaper published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund is Anne Braden, and the Field Organizer for the organization is Carl Braden. These people are man and wife, they are newspaper people from Kentucky, and they were both identified in 1954, in Court, as Communist Party members, by the testimony of a woman named Alberta Ahearn. She testified in Carl Braden's trial for "Sedition" in Louisville, Kentucky, that she knew both of the Bradens as Communist Party members, that she had attended Communist Party meetings in their home, and that she had actually been recruited into the Communist Party by the Bradens. They were subsequently further identified in a Congressional Hearing 2 or 3 years later as Communist Party members. Braden was convicted in Kentucky of "Sedition" and later was convicted in a U. S. Court, of "Contempt of Congress."

The "eastern representative" of this organization is a man named William Howard Melish, who also professes to be a Minister. Melish was identified by Louis Budenz, and others, in testimony before the Subversive Activities Control Board of the United States, as a Communist. I submit to the Committee that this type of leadership speaks for itself, and I offer the document to which I have referred.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let the document be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

At this time I would also like to offer a document which we have prepared by combining the front of the letterhead of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and the back of the letterhead, which shows all of the officers, including the Board of Directors and the Advisory Committees. This shows, besides the active officers who do the work, all of the Board Members who are supposedly advising this organization on policy. I offer this into the record. Mr. Chairman.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

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Exhibit 4. Officers, Board of Directors and "Advisory Committees" of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

# Cincinnati Pastor Named As Head Of 'Red Front'

To help its readers keep on guard against propaganda, the Cincinnati Enquirer brings you this authoritative weekly report.

BY JACK LOTTO

One of the top leaders of the integration movement in the South has been named head of a big pro-Communist front.

## Won't Answer Charges, Accused Minister Says

Rev. Mr. Shuttleworth, contacted in Birmingham, Ala., where he has been a leader in demonstrations there, gave the following statement:

"I do not intend to become involved in verbal gymnastics with those, who for years, have prided themselves and made themselves famous for slandering the character of others without proof and for making a mockery of the democratic process which says a man is innocent until proven guilty.

"I have the highest regard for this organization (SCEF), for the work it has done since I have been a member of the board, and I have seen nothing on the part of any person, with whom I have been associated, to give any substantiation to these charges.

"Generally, the House committees are governed by Communists who will label any organization subversive or communist that seeks to further the American aims of integration, justice and fair-play.

"To a segregationist, integration means Communism. I can think of nothing more un-American than the House Committee of Un-American Activities."

Carl Braden, a former Cincinnati newspaperman, touched off a heated UC faculty controversy with his March 7 appearance at the university.

He is the Rev. Fred L. Shuttleworth, 686 Dana Ave., pastor of the Revelation Baptist Church, 1944 John St.

The past he was elected to is President of the "Southern Conference Educational Fund," with headquarters in New Orleans, and active in 17 southern states.

Both the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities have described the SCEF as an organization set up to "promote Communism" throughout the South.

This group has a long history of activity in the South. It originally was known as the "Southern Conference for Human Welfare." One of its founders was a veteran Communist, the late Louis E. Burnham.

When the SCHW was cited as a Communist front in 1947 by the House committee, it ostensibly went out of business.

It quickly reopened at the same New Orleans address, under the new name and with the same telephone number.

According to the Senate subcommittee, the Southern Conference Educational Fund was "operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes" of its predecessor.

Said the House report on the SCHW:

"It seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South. Its professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subversive Communist party in the U. S."

The field secretary for the SCEF, and editor of its publication, "The Southern Patriot," is Carl Braden, of Louisville, Ky. Braden, identified in sworn testimony as a member of the Communist party, recently finished serving a one-year prison term for contempt of Congress.

New additions to the Board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund included the Rev. James A. Zellner, Methodist minister in Panama, City, Fla. Rev. Zellner, the father of Bob Zellner, the "freedom-walker" active in the "student non-violence committee," and now serving a jail term in Alabama.

ANOTHER BOARD member is Mrs. Diane Bevel, of Cleveland, Miss., active in Nashville student demonstrations, and currently working in Alabama and Mississippi.

She is jailed in Gadsden, Ala., for taking part with Zellner in a pro-integration march, following in the steps of William Moore, the postman shot and killed during a one-man protest march.

Communists and pro-Communists are moving into the South to provoke friction between whites and Negroes. On the scene is James E. Jackson, a member of the four-man ruling secretariat of the U. S. Communist party.

Jackson, who is propaganda boss in the U. S. for the Reds, is also the party's secretary for southern and Negro affairs—a police term for chief racial trouble-maker.

This Moscow-trained Negro has been in the forefront of Communist organizational and agitational work in the South for years.

In 1955, he went to Russia as the representative of the U. S. Communist party at the 21st World Congress of Communist parties. There, he hailed the Soviet Union and denounced the United States.

He is the Rev. Fred L. Shuttleworth, of Birmingham, Ala.

Let it be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

I would like to further offer into the record at this time, a clipping from the Cincinnati Inquirer, dated June 9, 1963, showing a column by Mr. Jack Lotto discussing the SCEF and commenting upon the refusal of Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth to discuss the Communist Connections of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let it be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

James Dombrowski, as I mentioned to the Committee, was one of the original group that set up the Highlander Folk School. The details of this are published at length in our report #4. Highlander was well identified as a Communist Training School, and was eventually put out of business by the authorities in Tennessee. The former director of the school, Myles Horton, now runs a similar operation called "The Highlander Center," which continues to carry out the same function the Highlander Folk School once did.

I have here, and I offer to the Committee, a memorandum from the files of the SCEF, written by either Anne or Carl Braden, which shows in detail the relationship between the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and the Highlander Folk School. The date of this 10-page memo is May 25, 1963, and since it is too long to reproduce I will read some excerpts from it:

"Many of the actions SCEF has stimulated are not generally known to the distant public as SCEF projects. Because they all believe in action, SNCC, SCEF, and Highlander have become natural allies and supporters of each other in the movement in the South. Highlander and SCEF, as the older of the organizations, are able to provide contacts and "know-how" that are invaluable to a movement of this kind. This is just one of the ways in which they have been useful to the SNCC, as well as to other organizations throughout the South and some of the North. Highlander has provided a place where both young and old could meet together, and learn the techniques and skills needed to bring about group action and social change. These people are contacted by SCEF if they had not already been in touch with the organization.



Because we know the stimulation that Highlander provides, we encourage our contacts who are not already in touch with Highlander to go there. Leaders of the movement in Jackson, Mississippi, say that SCEF has done far more than any other Civil Rights Organization to call their situation to the attention of people everywhere and get them support. National NAACP leaders have now gone to Jackson and stated that they will support an all-out effort to break down segregation. More action is in the making and SNCC will have a part in it, so will SCEF. One of the ways in which SCEF is able to make contacts for SNCC is through the large number of educators who work with SCEF or support it in one way or another. A college professor may have a SCEF staff-member address his class on integration and civil liberties, usually both. The students then want to know what they can do. They are urged to form a group affiliated with SNCC, and go into action. SCEF operates on the principle of "tangency." This means that it is structural tangent to all of the groups working for the same objectives. It also means that tangency cannot operate when it is determined that the relating structure has an axe to grind, or attempts to assume the function of the allied groups. Tangency can be a powerful weapon for action. The position may be used as a catalyst to aid in the definition of problems and to stimulate action, but the intermediate and neutral role must be clearly defined. Recent events in the South are causing more white people to engage in the struggle, especially young people."

From these little excerpts, you can see the overall pattern of activity here. The Southern Conference Educational Fund, working through Highlander Folk School and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, is actively recruiting students, young people, and even more mature adult personalities, to attend Highlander Folk School, and now days, Highlander Center, where they are trained in the Communist Party technique of racial unrest and revolution.

The memo goes on at some length describing specific areas of cooperation and mutual support between the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and the Highlander Folk School. The overall pattern seems to be that the SCEF guides these students, recruited through the SNCC, into Highlander. This is, of course, dressed up in the guise of integration and civil rights for a cover story. I offer the memo, Mr. Chairman.



BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let it be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

I would also like to offer for the record a letter from Anne Braden to Bob Zellner of the SNCC which shows the close control of the Communists over the SNCC. This is a 2-page letter from the SCEF files.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let it be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Mr. Chairman, I would like now to place in the record a recent publication of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, discussing its activities in 1964. The same old cover story of integration and civil rights is used in this, but some points in it are worth noting. On page 4, this pamphlet describes two separate pamphlets written by Anne Braden, previously well identified as a Communist Party member, and for several years one of the operators of the SCEF. The first of these pamphlets entitled: "HUAC, Bulwark of Segregation", is a good sample of Communist propaganda hidden behind the cover of civil rights. It urges that Communists be accepted into the Civil Rights Movement, and that all of the legislative investigative committees of the Congress and of the States be abolished. The SCEF and another Communist Front called, "The National Committee To Abolish The HUAC" are distributing these two pamphlets as is noted on page 4 of this particular offering. The Communist Party propaganda line in the United States today is that any anti-Communist effort is actually an anti-Civil Rights, Segregation effort. This point of view is set forth on pages 5 and 6 of the document in my hand. It is interesting to note that the list of current officers of the Southern Conference Educational Fund on page 6 does not mention Anne or Carl Braden, although they were mentioned elsewhere in the pamphlet. It may be that the Southern Conference Educational Fund is de-emphasizing the connection with the Bradens because of their very obvious and well-documented identification in 1954 as Communist Party members. I offer these 4 pages which are photographs of the pamphlet pages.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Jim: Copy of letter to Zellner which is  
self-explanatory. What is your feeling  
about the matter covered? I've never  
heard you express yourself. A.

004381

Tuesday, October 2, 1962

Dear Bob: (Zellner)

I'm probably very late bringing this matter up---  
but I never seem to manage to think ahead very far,  
since sufficient to the day always seems the evil  
thereof---or something.

But I find myself wondering whether you or Carl  
either one have adequately thought through your plans  
for this coming weekend. Maybe you have, and if so  
I apologize, but in talking with Carl this weekend I  
didn't feel he had.

I am referring to the your all's plan to deliberately  
get arrested in Talladega---or to deliberately court  
arrest.

I hope you will understand that my doubts and  
qualms about it are not personal. I'm glad for Carl  
to go to jail if it is necessary and if it will do  
some good---and actually I don't manage to see much  
more of him when he's out of jail than when he's in,  
so that is not a factor.

But my question on this is whether it is necessary  
and whether it will do some good. I'm not saying it  
won't. I'm just wondering if you all have really  
considered all the angles. I also wonder whether  
your respective "bosses", Jim Forman and Jim Dombrowski,  
have been sufficiently consulted, and I'm sending them  
a copy of this letter.

I do think we can't allow injunctions to stop our  
work anywhere. I'm all for ignoring them. I would  
certainly say go on and work in Alabama, do what you'd  
do anyway ---and if authorities consider that violation  
of an injunction, so you get arrested. No question but  
what this is the right thing to do. As a matter of fact,  
you were both in Alabama last week doing just that---  
and I imagine you are there this week.

And it may be also that you should deliberately  
take an action before the court hearing which defies  
the injunction. It seems to me this is worthwhile if  
(1) it would help spark new action in Talladega itself  
among the people there or (2) it would create a test  
case by which the injunction issue could get through the

Exhibit 6. Copy of letter from Communist Party member Anne Braden to Bob  
Zellner of the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee.

courts more quickly than otherwise, or an effective public campaign could be waged---so that we would strike a blow at the whole concept of injunctions to stop integrationists.

I am extremely doubtful about Purpose No. 1 above being accomplished by what you and Carl have discussed. Carl does ~~not~~ not have enough influence with people in Talladega themselves. With you, it might be different---but this would depend on a number of factors that I can't know from this distance; you may be able to judge if you were there this week. (In making the distinction between you and Carl on this, I'm not implying that you should act and he not---if you do, I think he should too.)

On Purpose No. 2---I think there is a greater likelihood that this would result---maybe a blow could be struck against injunctions. This would seem to me the best ~~argument~~ argument for going ahead.

But it's pretty problematical---and it seems to me you have to balance it against the value of what both of you might be doing if you are ~~not~~ in jail in Talladega. If you get arrested, I think you are going to be there several months, maybe all winter---and God knows how long. This makes quite a hole in both the SCLC and SNCC staffs---and that is why I think the two Jims should be seriously consulted. I've never heard either one of them express themselves on the subject---although maybe they have.

I'm really quite confused about it. I'm not saying don't do it---and I'm not saying do it. I'm just asking you all to consider all the angles. I know it's easy to rationalize yourself out of ever going to jail by convincing yourself you are needed on the outside. I also know that there is the danger the other way that also threatens the movement---the general feeling that we all just ought to be in jail every so often so people sometimes go whether this is the time and place or not. Someway people have got to steer a course between these two things.

I will say this: I don't want to see this Talladega injunction go unchallenged. If you don't take a deliberate action to defy it, I think you both should simply defy it in the normal course of your work by making it a point to work in Alabama a lot in the immediate future. And of course if you are going to do that, maybe you are better off to force the issue before the hearing. I guess that's partly a legal question.

I'm not sure where you are---so you may not get this letter before next weekend anyway. I'm sending it to Atlanta and copies to the two Jims. Maybe ~~figure~~ if you are in Talladega this week, you'll get arrested anyway before the weekend, and that will settle the matter. In that event, I certainly think Carl ought to come on down and make a similar stand.

Much love,

Anne Braden

Let them be received.

BY SEN. MITCHELL:

Has any of the so-called "liberal" community in the United States recognized the Southern Conference Educational Fund for what it really is?

BY MR. ROGERS:

Yes, Senator, they have. Several rather liberal sources have identified the Southern Conference Educational Fund accurately. I offer for the record first in this regard, a letter from the SCEF files from Carl Braden, previously well identified as a Communist, to James Dombrowski. The really important part of this letter is in the next to the last paragraph where Braden quotes Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, as commenting that the Bradens and the SCEF are part of the grand design of the Communist Party. I will read this particular paragraph to the Committee:

"If we get our facts wrong, then we must admit it and then correct them. Getting facts wrong is not half so damaging as having Roy Wilkins tell our supporters in New York that Anne's and my employment by SCEF was part of a grand design by the Communist Party to revive SCEF as a vehicle in the South, and that the Party did this as part of its effort to stir up trouble in the South. Such rot spread around New York and other places is what really makes people like J. Oscar Lee suspicious of us."

I offer the document into the record, it has 2 pages.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let it be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

I next offer 2 letters out of the SCEF files from and to a man named Al Maund, who has publicly demonstrated his sympathy and support for various Communists and Communist causes on several occasions. These letters both comment on the fact that the AFL-CIO has placed the SCEF on its private list of subversive organizations. It is interesting to note in the last sentence of the first letter, that a reference is made to "a campaign against Meany, et al.," by Dombrowski and Aubrey Williams. Both Dombrowski and

**the  
Southern  
Conference  
Educational  
Fund, inc.**

**ITS PLANNED ACTIVITIES  
AND  
FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS  
1964**

Exhibit 8. Cover of SCEF Pamphlet concerning 1964 activities.



## THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

**THE BUDGET:** SCEF's annual budget is about \$110,000, about 25% of this goes for administrative and general office expense; and about 75% for publications and special projects. The administrative and general office expense is a fairly stable, fixed sum, but the publications and special projects budget is adjustable. Only those projects are undertaken for which money has been raised or which appears to be in sight.

**WHERE THE MONEY COMES FROM:** All of SCEF's budget comes from voluntary, individual contributions. We have about 300 friends who contribute \$100 or more, but most of the annual gifts are from "little people", from \$10 to \$25. A special effort is being made to secure \$12 a-year-gifts (\$1.00 per month).

**HOW THE MONEY IS SPENT:** SCEF is in regular contact with about 100 grass roots civil rights organizations in the South, lending them encouragement, and making available a staff of professionally trained, experienced technicians, especially skilled in public relations and community organizations.

**SCEF'S STAFF:** SCEF's field staff includes Carl and Anne Bruden, who have worked as reporters and editors on some of the South's largest newspapers; John R. Baker, Jr., formerly professor of social studies at Tougaloo College, Mississippi, and advisor to the Jackson, Mississippi, NAACP Youth Committee which did such a remarkably fine job of organizing the Jackson Freedom Movement; the Rev. William Howard Melish, an ordained Episcopal Minister, and chairman of the Religious Freedom Committee; Mrs. Ella J. Baker, formerly national Director of Branches for the NAACP, and former executive director of Dr. Martin Luther King's organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Adult Advisor of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; Coordinator Washington office, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

**EDUCATION FOR GRASS ROOTS LEADERS:** SCEF conducts workshops on a local and regional basis for the leadership of grass-roots civil rights groups for the discussion of basic issues, policies, and directions. In the past 3 years special attention has been given to the relationship of civil rights and civil liberties.

**WHO DIRECTS SCEF'S POLICIES:** SCEF's board of directors of 80 and its advisory committee of 100, divided about equally between whites and Negroes, all live in the South. The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, noted civil rights leader of Birmingham and Cincinnati, is president of SCEF.

**SCEF'S UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION—ENLISTING WHITE ALLIES:** While all SCEF projects and activities are integrated, SCEF regards its unique contribution to the civil rights struggle to be the seeking out, and encouragement of Southern white liberals. For 25 years SCEF has provided a rallying point for those Southerners who wanted to take an uncompromising stand against all forms of discrimination and segregation. As our field staff travels about the South, they try to find these isolated liberals and help them to feel they are not alone.

**BUILDING LINES OF COMMUNICATION—THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT:** SCEF helps to maintain lines of communication between all integrationists in the South by means of a monthly newspaper the Southern Patriot, now in its 22nd year of continuous publication. It collects, and interprets the news of the Southern integration struggle, publishes profiles of its leaders, etc. Almost all of this material is written by the Patriot's own staff of correspondents, and is not available from any other source. The Patriot is not a SCEF house organ—it publishes news of all integrationist organizations active in the South. It can be found in the libraries of many of the country's leading colleges and universities. The Patriot is sent automatically to all contributors to the Fund.

**NEWS BUREAU:** SCEF maintains a news bureau servicing about 300 newspapers, magazines, TV and radio stations.

**WHITE STUDENT PROJECT WITH "ENICK":** For the past 3 years SCEF has given a grant to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC—"ENICK") to pay the salary and expenses of a fulltime field secretary to visit "white" college campuses in the South with the aim of involving more white students in the freedom movement. For the first two years "ENICK" selected Bob Zellner to work under this grant.

This school year it is Sam Shirah. For the first 2 years this grant was \$5,000. This year, because of the financial crisis precipitated by the strike, the grant has been reduced to \$2,000 or \$200 per month. We would like to restore this grant to its original amount.

**TWO NEW PUBLICATIONS:** SCEF is distributing a new publication by Anne Braden, published by the National Committee to abolish HUAC, under the title of "HUAC-BULWARK OF SEGREGATION", and plans to distribute another pamphlet by the same author. It is a basic document, still to be named, on the SCEF side. We need \$7,500 for this publishing project: \$2,000 for the HUAC pamphlet, and \$5,500 for the pamphlet on the SCEF case.

SCEF is interested in two projects that are close to the hearts of two of its associates:

(1) **HALIFAX COUNTY, N. C.**—John R. Salter, Jr. has laid out an ambitious plan for the development of a group-estate community campaign for the Tidewater region, beginning with a Voter-Education project in the largest county in North Carolina (Halifax County—69% Negro). They need food, clothing, books of all kinds, and money. \$4,000 would finance the project in its initial stages. (Telephone, postage, mimeo supplies, gas, etc.) This project could be just as significant for the Tidewater region as Fayette County has been for Tennessee and the Delta.

(2) **APPALACHIA:** Sam Shirah, a SNCC staff member, working under a SCEF grant, has had a dream concerned with the problem of how to convert the Southern Negro student protest movement into a real black and white movement of people against injustice. To put it more positively and concretely, how to unite the dispossessed in a program for "Jobs and Freedom". He wants to start in the Southern Mountain region. We would like to be able to help finance an office and chelston staff for one year. \$5,000 would do it.

**SCHOLARSHIP AID FOR YOUNG FREEDOM FIGHTERS:** SCEF has raised more than \$5,000 to provide scholarship aid for the children of the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, 3 of whom are now students at the University of Cincinnati. A few other young people

have been helped. This is one of the areas where more funds are needed urgently.

**COOPERATION WITH OPERATION FREEDOM & AID FOR VICTIMS OF ECONOMIC REPRESSIONS:** SCEF helped to set up Operation Freedom which is doing such a marvelous job with loans and grants to the Freedom Fighters in Fayette and Maywood Counties and in the Mississippi Delta, to help the victims of economic reprisals to make a crop and stay alive. Where Operation Freedom has been unable to help, SCEF has stepped in to assist some special cases:

(1) SCEF raised \$10,000 in loans to refinance the business of a Negro business man in Mississippi, in order to give him an economic base from which to carry on his activities as a leader in the freedom movement.

(2) SCEF has raised \$21,000 in loans to finance another key Negro business man in Tennessee. The money was used to complete and equip a multipurpose building when white merchants refused to sell to Negroes, when they began to register to vote. The Small Business Administration has agreed to take over the mortgage upon completion.

(3) SCEF has raised \$45,000 in bail bonds for young freedom fighters, almost all of them SNCC Solid workers and members.

**SCEF'S LEGAL DEFENSE, OUR MOST URGENT IMMEDIATE NEED:** We have listed some of the typical projects of SCEF which will indicate how our funds are spent, and I have mentioned a few projects for which we need funds now in order to maintain our regular program. However, the raids and arrests on October 4, 1963, placed a heavy financial burden upon the Fund for legal defense.

In addition to the criminal prosecutions of 2 SCEF officials by the State of Louisiana, SCEF has two cases on appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court, one for a half million dollars in damages, and one, which is the key case, testing the constitutionality of the Louisiana Statute. SCEF desperately needs immediate financial aid for legal defense. We are trying to raise \$25,000 for legal defense in 1964, in addition to the regular budget of \$110,000 or a total of \$135,000.

**THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SCEF COURT CASES:** Much more is involved in SCEF's legal defense than the survival of the Fund, for if Louisiana is successful in its efforts to destroy SCEF, it is certain that Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and other Southern

states will move quickly against all civil rights organizations and their leaders.

The significance of the SCEF case was stated by Circuit Judge John Minor Wisdom at the beginning of his forthright dissent:

"The main issue in this case (*Dombrowski v. Pfister*) is whether the State is abusing its legislative power and criminal processes: whether the State, under the pretext of protecting itself against subversion, has harassed and humiliated the plaintiffs and is about to prosecute them solely because their activities in promoting civil rights for Negroes conflict with the State's steel-hard policy of segregation. They ask the federal court to defend their federally protected rights."

It is not stretching the truth to say that the police state tactics used against SCEF, if permitted to stand, are a threat to all organizations working for peace and for social justice, as well as all agencies that challenge the *status quo*.

\*\*\*\*\*

## The Washington Post

... A three-judge Federal court now has under consideration a suit by the SCEF attacking the constitutionality of the Louisiana Subversive Activities and Communist Control Law. In the manner of its enforcement in Louisiana, the law seems to be a plain infringement on the advocacy of ideas—and as such in violation of the First Amendment. It seems obvious that it is being used against the SCEF for the sole reason that that organization is engaged in advocating civil rights for Negroes in the South. If it succeeds in this case, it will be used in other Southern states to tag the civil rights movement as "subversive" and Communist. This amounts to rule by intimidation. It is the antithesis of the democratic process.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 12, 1964

**SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND**  
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70112

President

REV. FRED L. SHUTTLESWORTH

Treasurer

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JOHN M. COE

Assistant Secretary

CLARICE CAMPBELL

BISHOP CHARLES F. GOLDEN

MODJESKA M. SIMKINS

6

Exhibit 11. Last page of Exhibit No. 8.

Williams, of course, have previously been well identified as Communists, and George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, is known to be one of the more militant anti-Communists in the whole labor movement. We offer these 2 letters into the record, Mr. Chairman.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let them be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

A third liberal source which has fairly well evaluated the SCEF is Mr. Ralph McGill, editor of the "Atlanta Constitution." I offer a letter and a telegram from him, both characterizing James Dombrowski as a Communist Fellow Traveler, and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the original name of the SCEF, as a Communist Front. It is interesting to note that the letter is addressed to Aubrey Williams, who McGill evidently considers to be his friend, but the original of the letter was evidently sent by Williams to Dombrowski, in whose files we found it.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let it be received.

BY SEN. MOORE:

Mr. Rogers, I have a question about Mr. Ralph McGill, the Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, who has written this letter and also sent this telegram to Mr. Aubrey Williams, in which he is disclaiming any future association with Dombrowski, and others, since they are known to be Communists. The question which comes to my mind is how he couldn't know that Aubrey Williams had been identified as a Communist in this Country. He has, hasn't he?

BY MR. ROGERS:

Yes, Aubrey Williams has; however, this particular letter is dated December 10, 1953, and this was before Williams' public identification at the New Orleans Hearing. It may have been that McGill did not know the full extent of Aubrey Williams' connections at that time. This is probably the answer to it.

BY SEN. MOORE:

As far as Mr. McGill's background is concerned, I think he is known to be an openly liberal newspaper man, isn't that correct?

# Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

FIELD SECRETARIES OFFICE

4403 VIRGINIA AVENUE, LOUISVILLE 11, KENTUCKY

SPRING 4-3331

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**Field Secretaries**  
Anna Braden  
Carl Braden

Dec. 5, 1968

001116

Dear Jim:

Your letter of Dec. 1 regarding the Cleveland, Miss., situation and the enclosure from Albert Barnett are indeed disturbing. I am therefore sending copies of this letter to Dr. Barnett and to Amie, who is in Chicago, with the idea that we can call a halt at least temporarily to what we are doing with regard to Amie Moore and Cleveland.

Amie planned to see David and Myrlindson about putting up the money to refinance Amie's service station. I am advising her that perhaps the best thing to do is to count them out and then to employ a professional service to investigate the financial situation in regard to the enterprise. It is possible that both E. D. Nixon and I were sold a bill of goods, although I naturally like to think so.

There is also the possibility that the same thing has happened in regard to the church. I should have followed an impulse that I had after Dr. Barnett said at the Oct. 4 board meeting that he had got back a letter he sent to the pastor of New Hope Baptist Church. It occurred to me that perhaps there was something afoot, but then I dismissed it from my mind because Amie had told me that the minister had another church in the country and I figured he was getting his mail there.

The investigation of the church burning should not have been tied in with the gathering of material on other atrocities that have taken place in the Delta area. In order to interview the people involved in these other affairs, I had to stay pretty well under cover during my stay in Cleveland; in fact I did not leave Amie's home for three days, although we did go out at night a couple of times.

I saw the church from a distance at night and in a fairly poor light. However, it looked to me as though it was a shell of a building and there were marks of fire on the outside of the walls. Perhaps I was a victim of power of suggestion. I had interviewed the pastor in Amie's home that afternoon and heard his and Amie's hair-raising story about the threats and the terror in connection with the burning. I must say that I concluded the church was in mine from looking at it at night in a dim light and from a distance, and from accepting their description of it.

Perhaps a grave error was made in not making an independent investigation of the church, examining it in broad daylight and getting opinions of somebody who knows something about buildings. I took their word for it that the structure had to be rebuilt.

P.S. Our check arrived today. They must have been flown around the globe, as it took three days. C



001126  
Another thing occurs to me, now that I am stimulated by Albert's letter. Ammie told me that Clester Current of NAACP was very interested in rebuilding the church at one time. Ammie said he saw Clester in Washington last spring and the latter promised to make an investigation and see what could be done. The people in Cleveland heard no more from NAACP, they said.

Perhaps they did investigate and decide that they didn't feel the church worth rebuilding. Then they just did not say any more, which is the way things are done in this field under the conditions prevailing--people just do not turn you down or attack you but merely have nothing more to do with you. This may be what happened between NAACP and Ammie in regard to the church. One other thing that comes to mind out of this is a remark by Ammie that "The NAACP seems to have written off Mississippi."

Probably what we should do is something similar, if it appears that something is amiss. Then, if it becomes necessary, I will send a letter personally to anybody who asks, stating that it was I who made the error and trying to explain how it happened without casting reflections on anybody.

Perhaps if we just let the matter drop, as the NAACP apparently did, that will be the end of that. However, I am willing to do what I can to repair any damage that might have resulted from acceptance of statements that may not have been facts. This sort of thing is inherent in the way we have to operate in these times, but I suppose it is not really an excuse.

As for Lee of the Council of Churches not trusting us, this has been obvious to me for quite some time. I needed no further verification after talking with him for an hour last month. He, like many other churchmen and people of good will, have been taken in by the Red-baiting of SCLC and members of its staff and board. However, I think this is wearing off. The indictment in Atlanta is an effort by the opposition to revive it.

I agree that it is vital to get our facts straight. I have always adhered to this rule, and never in 24 years as a journalist was I accused of warping or distorting the facts. However, I must say that I was gathering facts and publishing them under ideal conditions, and conditions in Mississippi are hardly ideal, to say the least.

If we get our facts wrong, then we must admit it and correct them. Getting facts wrong is not half so damaging as having Roy Wilkins tell our supporters in New York that Anne's and my employment by SCLC was part of a grand design by the Communist Party to revive SCLC as a vehicle in the South; and that the Party did this as part of its effort to stir up trouble in the South. Such rot spread around New York and other places is what really makes people like J. Oscar Lee suspicious of us.

I am sending this special to your home and am sending a copy special to Anne in Chicago so she can be guided accordingly in approaching Simmons. I shall be very interested in Ammie Moore's reply to yours of Dec. 8 in which you quote from the letter from the Cleveland resident.

With warmest regards,

Carl

Carl Braden

MAUND ✓

ROAD

119 Manor  
Akron 13, Ohio  
July 31, 1957

G  
11791

XX

Dear Jim and Aubrey,

I am writing you a joint letter because you have been both involved in my problem with the union...and because the most recent development should shock you both.

Yesterday I pounded away at the educational director, whom I suspected of feeding the President a lot of rat poison about the SOEF. He stuck to the point that it didn't matter that he what the SOEF was; the important thing was that the AFL-CIO had branded it "unhealthy for labor." And he said he knew "Dombrowski was a fellow traveler." He refused to produce any documents on the subject.

Subsequently I talked to the President and he, too, refused to accept any bona fides about the SOEF and said about the same as the e.d.

I then contacted a local labor leader whom we had met through a mutual friend. He is a very nice, solid guy. He called Washington for me and then, with amazement, reported this:

His sources are "reliable" but they made him swear on a stack of bibles he wouldn't name them to me. Also they said they would deny what they told him if any outsider asked. But there is an AFL-CIO "subversive list" of organizations. And the SOEF is on it. They would not tell what authorities they used in compiling same, but they said the reason for the SOEF's listing "centered around Dombrowski, who they strongly suspected was a fellow traveler."

The education director had so infuriated me with his geoffiness on the subject that yesterday I was ready to tell them all to go to hell. With the knowledge that the whole labor hierarchy is infected with that type of thinking, I now feel only a dazed disgust.

I told the President I had checked out matters and found it wasn't solely his hysteria. And I understood his position (he is in a minority on very strong and politically hungry executive board) but that I still couldn't accept his terms. Instead, I offered to agree to be discreet in my relationships with the SOEF. He said he wanted the old terms. We wrangled back and forth and then he said he didn't want to hear any more about it. I presume he figures my staying on will be a token of submission, but I interpret it as a stalemate.

At any rate, I don't know how to fight the mist. The people here aren't the real villains...they are just underlings. He will stay on as "God's spies" to see what the hell the system will do next, until


Exhibit 14. Letter from Al Maund to James A. Dombrowski and Aubrey Williams  
in re the AFL-CIO "Subversive List".

we are chopped down.

TO JIM: Send the clips for September's PATRIOT. The logic in favor of the Brekens doing it in the future is overwhelming--as I wrote you a while back. ~~Simultaneously~~ I can't help feeling a twinge of sadness though, at the impending separation. For damn near a decade, the PATRIOT has been the one free haven for my ~~water-~~ ink typewriter.

TO AUNNEY: Please brief Paul Woolley on the situation. He is the kind of rank-and-file trade unionist who will eventually be demolished the constipated facade of fear and smear. Also, it should make him value that much more the virtues of Woodruff Randolph of the ITU. Unhappily, I understand that Randolph does not plan to run for re-electi-

Also, between debates, I have interested the President mightily in giving the Southern Farmer the printing contract. I hope you have sent along the bid for 12 pages. Once it arrives, a full discussion of the matter will be held. You can be sure that I will be a veritable Daniel in its behalf.

End of report from a strange world. Dorothy joins in sending love to you all; do write your reactions--and also how I can be of help in any campaign you want to launch against Henry stal. 

al

11792

XX

August 2, 1957

G  
11793 xx

Dear Al:

I had known for some time that there was an approved list of organizations in the CIO, however I was deeply shocked to learn that the AF of L, CIO maintained its own index of "subversive" organizations, and that the SCEF was on it.

I feel that we have an important job cut out for us. For some time, Aubrey and I have had it in mind to do some systematic cultivation of the appropriate persons in the labor field. I feel confident that given sufficient time and patient groundwork, that if your information is correct, that the SCEF can be given the blessing of the top labor officials.

Part of our difficulty has been the limitations of time in a one man office. I have been unable to do the personal work that is required to change this picture. Part of our problem, as you know, is that we have inherited a deep opposition on the part of certain top leaders to the old SCNW, which was transferred to the SCEF. Now that we will have seen the help of the Bradens, I hope we will be able to devote more time to this task.

In the meantime, I hope you can hang on to your job with the precept that your brilliant work as an editor and P. R. man will make you indispensable, and so eventually enable advocates of the SCEF and that it stands for *for a better Sharkey, for* *with a*

The vote early this morning on the jury trial amendment was probably inevitable. Our battleground, in any case, is now S. Rule 22 in January, 1959.

This morning in looking over our file of our more generous contributors, I noted the name of Charles Bulger, 75 Harrison Road, Akron 3, who contributed \$25.00 in April, 1956. He might be somebody you'd like to know and personal contact would probably be helpful to the Fund.

It was most generous of you to send your contribution of \$10.00 to help with the cost of the WASHINGTON ad. We have received to date, a little over \$500.00 for that purpose.

With love to you all,

Sincerely,

Mr. Alfred Maund

BY MR. ROGERS:

Very much so, yes. The next comment on the SCEF from a liberal source, Mr. Chairman, is this letter which I hold in my hand from the late Edgar B. Stern, Sr., of New Orleans, which I offer for the record. The last paragraph in this letter shows Mr. Stern's recognition of the true nature of the SCEF, which in 1948 was still known as the SCHW. The letter is dated January 24, 1948. It was found in the SCEF files, and I will read the last paragraph to the Committee. It is addressed to James A. Dombrowski, signed with the signature of Edgar B. Stern.

"I note your suggestion that you would like an opportunity to meet and talk with me about problems concerning the South. In answer, I must say to you frankly that I find myself so far apart from the methods and practices of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare that I doubt whether we could accomplish much by an interview, but if you desire it, I should be entirely willing to meet you at our mutual convenience if you would give me a ring." Signed, Edgar B. Stern.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let it be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

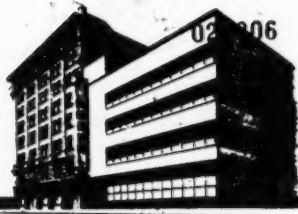
I next offer for the record, Mr. Chairman, 3 letters from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, all addressed to James A. Dombrowski, and found in his files. The first one comments on her withdrawal from the SCEF. Our report #4 contains some detailed correspondence establishing clearly that Mrs. Roosevelt left the SCEF because Communists were in it and were taking part in its management. The second two letters discuss Virginia Durr, a former Vice-President of the SCEF who was well identified in 1954 as a Communist fellow-traveler. Mrs. Durr refused to answer questions about her Communist Front record and associations with various well-known Communists in the face of testimony concerning her close association with various officers of the Communist Party. The two letters show that Mrs. Roosevelt was well aware of the danger posed by the Communists to the Civil Rights Movement. I offer these to the Committee.

(MR. ROGERS READS THE LETTERS INTO THE RECORD.)



# The Atlanta Journal THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

PUBLISHED BY  
ATLANTA NEWSPAPERS, INC.  
BOX 4689



RALPH MCGILL  
Editor, Atlanta Constitution

ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

December 10, 1953

Honorable Aubrey Williams  
Publisher, Southern Farmer  
Montgomery 1, Alabama

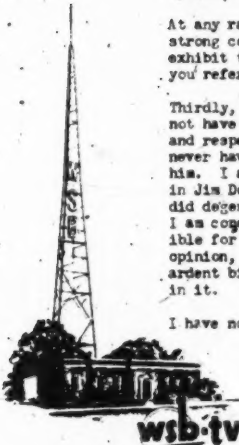
Dear Aubrey:

First off, it seems to me your letter is a little vulnerable. Obviously, if Dombrowski wanted to make advertising use of one of my columns, I haven't gone over to the mob. Therefore, I can't quite follow your long lament and your suggestion that I have succumbed to fear. If you are willing to spend money to advertise the fact that I had acted courageously in one breath, I don't quite see how you can in the next one mourn my fear.

At any rate, I put next in evidence my frequent, and I believe, strong condemnation of McCarthy and McCarthyism as further exhibit that I have not at all gone over to the mob to which you refer.

Thirdly, now let me say just as firmly as I can that I do not have any idea of denying you. I will always admire you and respect you, but with Jim Dombrowski it is different. I never have accepted him, and I, therefore, don't have to deny him. I am awfully sorry to say so, but I have no confidence in Jim Dombrowski. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare did degenerate into a Communist front outfit, and as far as I am concerned, Dombrowski is one of those chiefly responsible for allowing it to do so. He and Clark Foreman, in my opinion, betrayed Mark Ethridge and Barry Bingham by an ardent bit of fellow traveling with the Communists who were in it.

I have no idea whether Dombrowski is a Communist, but I have



Page 2

Honorable Aubrey Williams

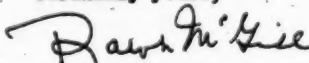
020807

no slight doubt but for at least 25 years he has, in my opinion, been running with that pack. You say you have been hissed off the stage by Communists on at least two occasions. You will never find where Dombrowski was hissed off any stage by any Communist.

So as far as I am concerned, the Southern Conference Education Fund was set up after the Southern Conference for Human Welfare died and, as usual, a number of sincere people were pulled into it. If this disappoints you I am sorry. I am going right on opposing McCarthyism, and I hope I will go on writing columns which the Southern Conference Education Fund might like to run as paid advertisements. But I am also going right along believing that the Southern Conference Education Fund is, as far as Dombrowski can make it, a fellow traveling outfit, and I repeat again, I want no association with it, however indirect or remote. If this hurts you, Aubrey, I am sorry, but that is the way I feel about Dombrowski.

I must add that I wouldn't know him if he walked in the room. It seems to me that I did meet him a good many years ago, but I do not recall what he looks like, nor do I know a single one of his associates, friends or relatives; therefore, I can say very emphatically that I bear him no personal ill-will, nor do I have any malice in my heart for him. I simply do not trust him, nor do I have any confidence in his political integrity.

Cordially yours,



Ralph McGill

RM:gl

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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NL=Night Letter  
LT=International Telegram  
VLT=Very Long Telegram

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JAMES A DOMBROWSKI, DIRECTOR SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL  
FUND INC=322 PERDIDI ST NRLNS=1

I AM HAVING A NOTARIZED COPY OF THIS WIRE MADE. I REGRET IT.  
BUT IT IS NECESSARY FOR ME TO EMPHATICALLY REFUSE PERMISSION  
TO REPRODUCE IN ANY MANNER WHATEVER IN ANY OF YOUR  
PUBLICATIONS THE COLUMN TO WHICH YOU REFER. I ALSO MUST  
EMPHATICALLY REFUSE PERMISSION TO USE IT AS AN ADVERTISEMENT.  
I ALSO NOTIFY YOU IN ADVANCE THAT I WILL TAKE LEGAL ACTION  
IF ANY SUCH USE IS MADE OF IT BY YOUR ORGANIZATION WHICH

I CONSIDER TO BE A FELLOW TRAVELLING OUTFIT WITH WHICH I  
WISH NO ASSOCIATION WHATEVER HOWEVER INDIRECT OR REMOTE=  
RALPH MCGILL EDITOR ATLANTA CONSTITUTION=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Exhibit 19. Telegram from Ralph McGill to James Dombrowski

70  
EDGAR B. STERN  
THE AMERICAN BANK BUILDING  
NEW ORLEANS 12

13086C

January 24, 1948

Mr. James A. Dombrowski,  
Director,  
Southern Conference Educational Fund,  
806 Perdido St.,  
New Orleans, 12, La.

Dear Mr. Dombrowski:

I regret the delay in answering your letter of the 2nd instant, but I have been under exceptionally heavy pressure in my schedule of late, and I did not sooner have a chance to read the special issue of the SOUTHERN PATRIOT which you enclosed with your letter. In that publication you have attempted to cover a very large field about which much has been written and spoken. I think all right thinking people regret greatly the backwardness of Negro education. You doubtless know that there is another side to the picture, and that is the comparative paucity of available tax funds in the Southern states as compared to the rest of the nation. You, I am sure, have seen the figures that show that some of the Southern states spend a larger percentage of their tax funds for education than many other sections of the country.

You have not pointed out in this publication some encouraging signs of a hope for improvement in this situation. I have lived in New Orleans all my life and I was immensely impressed by a recent report of the Citizens Committee that out of a \$40,000,000 fund for the modernization of our school system in this city, \$25,000,000, or five-eighths, should be spent for Negro schools. I don't know whether this will be carried out, but a few years ago such a proposal would not have been made, or seriously considered.

I must confess that I am somewhat startled at a paragraph on page 8 of the issue of the SOUTHERN PATRIOT that you sent me, wherein it is stated under the heading "The International Problem": "The U.S. today is bidding with Russia for leadership in a world of 2,000 million colored and 700 million white persons. Will the teeming millions of such dark-skinned countries as India, China, Korea, be impressed by either the politics or the religion of a nation that grants to its pigmented population only a second-class citizenship, as against a nation that in 25 years wiped out all racial discrimination?"

I would say without hesitation that the most humble Negro in America has greater security of life and person than any citizen of Russia or of its satellite countries.

Exhibit 20. Letter to James Dombrowski from the late Edgar B. Stern,  
of New Orleans, La.

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13087 ←  
Page 2 - Mr. James A. Dambrowski - 1.24.45

I note your suggestion that you would like an opportunity to meet and talk with me about problems confronting the South. In answer I must say to you frankly that I find myself so far apart from the methods and practices of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare that I doubt whether we could accomplish much by an interview, but if you desire it, I should be entirely willing to meet you at our mutual convenience, if you will give me a ring.

Very truly yours,

*Edgar Stern*

KHS:arn:m



**BY SEN. KNOWLES:**

Let them be received.

**BY MR. ROGERS:**

These 5 liberal sources all criticizing the SCEF and its leadership and recognizing the Communist Front nature of the SCEF, can hardly be called racists, or extremists, or witch-hunters. Other so-called liberals should take note of this and consider it carefully.

As a final note on this point I offer a letter from Aubrey Williams to Dombrowski quoting Arthur Schlesinger on the connections of Dombrowski, which shows that some Liberals are unable to accept the facts even when they are fully aware of them.

(MR. ROGERS READS THE LETTER INTO THE RECORD.)

**BY SEN. KNOWLES:**

Let it be received.

**BY MR. MOORE:**

Mr. Rogers, just what kind of operation has the Southern Conference Educational Fund carried out? What have they been doing as to the general public, rather than as to other Front organization?

**BY MR. ROGERS:**

Senator, I have here some examples of the general public functions of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Here is a clipping from a Lynchburg, Virginia newspaper of March 29, 1963. The headline on this is, "Accused Communist Seeks To Use Wansley Rape Case," and this clipping tells how Carl Braden, who is the Field Organizer of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, has interjected himself and his organization into a rape case in Lynchburg, Virginia. Apparently, the purpose of this is to gain publicity and gain a reputation for doing good works for the Southern Conference Educational Fund. I can't personally rationalize why else a Communist would be interested in a rape case, when there was no known connection with the accused in the matter. I offer this into the record, this is a sample of what they do.

**BY SEN. KNOWLES:**

37  
MR. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
30 EAST 70TH STREET  
NEW YORK CITY, 21, N. Y.

*de R*  
007915

April 18, 1960

Dear Mr. Dombrowski:

Thank you very much for your letter.

I will not make any public announcement of my decision and I would hope that none need be made. Just drop my name from your literature.

When you come to New York, I will always be glad to see you, but don't make a special trip.

With every good wish,

Very sincerely yours,

*Eleanor Roosevelt*

Exhibit 22. Letter from Eleanor Roosevelt to James Dombrowski concerning her withdrawal from the SCEF.

VALL-ELL COTTAGE  
HYDRE PARK, BAYVIEW CO.  
NEW YORK

12830

May 11, 1947

My dear Mr. Dombrowski:

In answer to your letter of April 23rd, I feel I should write you quite frankly as to my feelings.

I think the idea of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is basically sound, and provides a method by which Southerners can speak out.

I think recently that some of your associations have given your enemies a chance to label ~~you~~ communist and it seems to me that you should have avoided giving your enemies the basis for such a charge.

In the case of the Columbia, Tenn. episode, I understand that Mrs. Durr refused to serve with the NAACP unless the communist party was represented on the Committee. Under other conditions, that might have been a good thing, but the situation there was difficult enough without giving the opposition additional ammunition.

VALL-ELL COTTAGE  
HYDRE PARK, BAYVIEW CO.  
NEW YORK

12831

I have heard from many people that the Conference, perhaps because of necessity, was devoting itself to the raising of funds instead of concentrating on the real job.

I tried working with American communists, as you know, and have long since given up trying. I can not work with any one who is not completely honest and American communists are not honest. I know that often they work for the same objectives, and do good work, but that does not alter my opinion.

Very sincerely yours,

Eleanor Roosevelt

APARTMENT SIX-A  
29 WASHINGTON SQUARE WEST  
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

June 11, '47

128336

My dear Mr. Dombrowski:

Thank you for your letter of June 5th. I think Mrs. Durr's letter is a rather foolish letter.

What Walter White said was perfectly true. If the defense had not been left in the hands of the N.A.A.C.P. without communists, certainly that would have been seized on as an excuse to add to the troubles of the defense.

Theories are wonderful and ideals are marvelous but Mrs. Durr's last paragraph leaves me cold in the face of the facts of the situation.

I shall be glad to see you and talk to you if the opportunity arises.

Very sincerely yours,

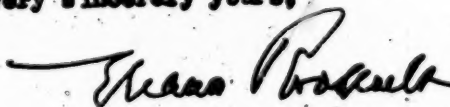


Exhibit 24. Letter from Eleanor Roosevelt to James Dombrowski further discussing Virginia Durr.

021036

**SOUTHERN FARMER**  
MONTGOMERY 1, ALABAMA

AUBREY WILLIAMS  
PUBLISHER

Wednesday May 26 1954.

Dear Jim:

Lister Hill called Cliff yesterday and told him that he thought we had heard the last of the Jenner Com. He said of course he could not be sure but that from what he had been able to find out that it was his feeling that we would not hear anything more about it, or be called any more.

Had a letter from Mrs Roosevelt about two weeks ago enclosing letter from Arthur Schlessinger which she said disturbed her very much. In it Sch-- said that while he had great admiration for you, that still he had to say that you had run with so many questionable organizations that you were easy meat for Congressional committees. He said that even if you did run with such he nevertheless would always want to be known as your friend. Well I wrote her, and this is a reply by Neibur--he too had written Mrs R. along the same vein as Sch--. I think that everything is alright, and I am happy to tell you that I simply portrayed you as you are without apologies. I am glad Neibur says he agrees. I regret that Mrs R. felt any necessity to ask for my opinion, but those pannywaistes are to blame.

Warmest regards.

*Am*

Exhibit 25. Letter from Aubrey Williams to James Dombrowski concerning Arthur Schlessinger.

Let it be received.

BY SEN. MOORE:

This rape was committed by a negro in Virginia?

BY MR. ROGERS:

That is what he was charged with.

BY SEN. MOORE:

And an attempt is made, evidently, to do some good on behalf of the negro in the name of the SCEF?

BY MR. ROGERS:

That's correct, Senator, that's exactly what it is.

I next offer a copy of a hand-bill sent out by the Southern Conference Educational Fund in August, 1964, addressed to: "Friends of SCEF everywhere, from the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, President." It is on the stationery of the SCEF, and it lists several items of current Southern Conference Educational Fund activities.

(MR. ROGERS READ THE DOCUMENT TO THE COMMITTEE.)

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let it be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

The next item, in answer to your question, Senator Moore, is this brochure on a conference held in Birmingham, Alabama, on April 13 and 14, 1962. This was a conference on "The Deep South, Ways And Means To Integration." The sponsors are: The Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. (this is headed up by Fred Shuttlesworth who is also the President of the SCEF); The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; and the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. The Committee will note that throughout this thing, the people who speak on the subject of the ways and means to integration are people who have records of Communist Front affiliation, or worse, including Carl Braden, a well identified Communist, who spoke on getting better and fuller coverage in the news media. A fairly large number of people at-



# THE DAILY ADVANCE

LYNCHBURG, VA., FRIDAY EVENING, MARCH 29, 1963

15 004926

## Accused Communist Seeks To Use Wansley Rape Case

By JAMES MURDOCK

An accused Communist and notorious propagandist of Communist causes has seized on the appeals case of convicted rapist Thomas Carlton Wansley as grist for his Communist front organization.

Carl Braden, accused Communist and convicted for contempt of the U. S. Congress, came to Lynchburg this week and announced he was going to make "a national issue" of the appeals case of Wansley, 18-year-old Negro sentenced to two death penalties for raping two Lynchburg women.

Braden, a member of the staff of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., cited as a Communist front, told Police Chief R. O. Evans he was a newspaperman.

He said he represented the Southern Patriot (published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund) and the York, Pa., Daily Gazette.

Braden demanded police photographs of Wansley and the names of the psychiatrists who testified at his two trials. During his conversation with Evans, Braden said he, also, was going to talk with Dr. J. Kenneth McFarland, Randolph-Meason Women's College

professor and a former vice president of the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

Braden attended a banquet at the Hampton Branch YMCA on Monday night in company with the Rev. Virgil A. Wood, Negro pastor of Diamond Hill Baptist Church and head of the Lynchburg branch of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Dr. Martin Luther King. King has endorsed the SCEF for giving "new hope" in the integration fight.

Wood is listed as a member

of the board of directors of the Communist front SCEF, along with Leonard W. Holt Jr., Norfolk Negro attorney who represented Braden when Braden refused to testify on Feb. 9, 1961, before the Florida Legislative Investigations Committee in Tallahassee. Braden took refuge behind the First Amendment to the Constitution then. The committee was tied up in litigation challenging its authority to investigate alleged communism in the Miami chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Holt also represented Wood when Wood filed an "omnibus" suit demanding integration of all public facilities in Lynchburg, and represented 17 of the 18 persons convicted here of trespassing in sit-in demonstrations. Wood was one of those convicted. The cases are under appeal and are before the U. S. Supreme Court.

Reuben Lowman, Roanoke Negro attorney who successfully brought suit to force the admission of four

Negro students to previously all-white E. C. Glass High School, represented Wansley in his two rape trials, each of which ended in a sentence of death. Lowman, however, died of a heart attack last week.

At the time, he was being assisted in the appeal to the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals, by William M. Kunstler, white New York City lawyer. Kunstler says the Wansley case is being appealed on constitutional issues—the segregated courtroom.

Braden recently attempted to get photographs of Wansley from the Lynchburg newspapers and before that, in 1961, attempted to obtain copies of the photographs printed in The Daily Advance of the six college students convicted of the December, 1960, sit-in demonstrations. Four of the students were white, two from Randolph-Meason Women's College and two from Lynchburg College.

Braden was convicted in the federal court in Atlanta and sentenced to a year's imprisonment for refusing to testify before the

(Turn to Page 18, Col. 6)

### Accused

(Continued from Page 15)

House Committee on Un-American Activities. His conviction was upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Justice Department, told the court at the time:

"The committee had information that the petitioner (Braden) was a Communist party member active in propaganda and other party work in the South; that he was connected with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and the Southern Newsletter; and that these three organizations were Communist controlled or at least heavily infiltrated and were engaged in Communist propaganda and other work."

The Congressional Record of May 1, 1962 identifies Carl Braden as a field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. This organization was cited as a Communist front by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1956. It was also cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives in 1964 and by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives in 1947.

According to the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, published December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is "a Communist-front organization which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of

the South although its professed interest on southern welfare is really an expedient for helping firms serving the Soviet Union and its subordinate Communist Party in the United States."

The Southern Patriot is a publication originally published by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and now published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. It is cited as a Communist or Communist-front publication in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications.

Braden is presently utilizing stationery carrying the names of both the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. and the Southern Patriot. Braden has been identified as a member of the Communist party before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He served the sentence for contempt of Congress in 1961 and 1962. He was also convicted by the Florida courts of contempt of the Legislature of the State of Florida and an appeal was refused by the Federal Supreme Court.

Exhibit 27. Clipping concerning activities of the SCEF.

# Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

PUBLISHERS OF The Southern PATRIOT FOUNDED IN 1942

August, 1964

822 PERDIDO STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA 70112 • Area 504 525-7226

TO: Friends of SCEF Everywhere

FROM: The Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth, President

• **UPSIDE-DOWN JUSTICE - The Albany Cases** - When you have read the enclosed pamphlet we think you will want to help correct this disturbing instance of upside-down justice. We urge you to give support to the National Committee for the defense of the Albany Defendants. Inserted in the pamphlet is a copy of a petition you may wish to help circulate.

SCEF has prepared and distributed this pamphlet as part of its support for the grassroots movements in the South.

Other current activities include:

➤ • **Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party** - Ella J. Baker, SCEF Special Consultant, is working with the Freedom Democratic Party as coordinator of SWCC's Washington office. ... SCEF board member, Ed Hamlett recruited 20 white Southern students to work with the white community in the COFO Summer Project.

• **Halifax County** - Mounting Ku Klux Klan activity in Halifax County, N. C. prompted John M. Salter, Jr., SCEF Field Organizer, to ask for federal and state protection from "racial terrorism". ... A first round victory was won in the case of Willa Johnson, Halifax County school teacher fired for registration work. Judge Larkin issued an order preventing the school board from hiring her successor pending the outcome of the next hearing August 31. SCEF attorneys, Kunstler & Kinoy, and M. Stavis are handling the case.

➤ • **SCEF Legal Cases** - The U. S. Supreme Court has agreed to rule on the SCEF challenge to the constitutionality of the Louisiana "anti-subversion" statutes. The ACLU, the National Lawyers Guild, and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. have asked permission to file briefs amici curiae.

SCEF's damage suit against Senator Eastland, J. G. Sourvine et al was appealed in July to the U. S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

➤ We have heard that SCEF's records, after being photo-copied, have been returned by Senator Eastland and his Subcommittee to the Louisiana Un-American Activities Committee. It may be significant that the Louisiana Committee's budget has just been cut from \$60,000 to \$10,000.

**Finances** - These activities are the least the SCEF can do toward fulfilling its traditional mission, but the cost is heavy - and has placed great strain on the Fund's resources.

If you have not sent a contribution to the Fund recently, perhaps you would like to send a generous check now. The need is urgent. A return postpaid envelope is enclosed for your convenience.



tended this particular conference, and this was the prelude to the violence and serious racial unrest in Birmingham, Alabama; this particular conference right here. We offer this into the record, Mr. Chairman.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let it be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

The next item in this respect, Senator Moore, that I would like to offer the Committee, is a letter dated July 18, 1960 to James A. Dombrowski from William Howard Melish, the eastern representative of the SCEF. This letter from the files of the SCEF shows the SCEF's knowing connections with a man named Doxie Wilkerson, who has been identified in the past as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A. Melish, of course, as I told you, was identified as a Party member in hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board. Melish set up a session in New York for 50 people and presented to them Doxie Wilkerson, this other Communist. This particular letter is an accounting to Dombrowski of what happened at this meeting, what they did there, and generally what the Communist, Doxie Wilkerson, told these 50 people who attended. This was one of their little side functions which they set up gratis wherever they happened to be working.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let the letter be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

In March and April of 1960, the Southern Conference Educational Fund through Dr. M. K. Curry, Jr., of Marshall, Texas, and Dr. C. O. Simpkins of Shreveport, Louisiana, took part in carrying out certain allegedly "spontaneous" demonstrations by colored students in Marshall, Texas. The NAACP played a strong part in these demonstrations, as did an admitted Communist, this same Doxie Wilkerson, of whom I have just spoken. Wilkerson at that time was a faculty member at Bishop College in Marshall, Texas. Wilkerson is a former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., with a long record of Communist activity, including serving on the faculty of the Jefferson School

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**CONFERENCE ON  
THE DEEP SOUTH:  
WAYS AND MEANS TO INTEGRATION  
FRIDAY-SATURDAY, APRIL 13-14, 1962**



**HEADQUARTERS:  
St. Paul Methodist Church**

**1500 Sixth Avenue, North      Birmingham, Alabama**

**Rev. J. C. Wilson, Pastor**

**★ ★ ★**

**SPONSORS:**

**ALABAMA CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS  
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE  
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.**

**★ ★ ★**

**HOST:**

**THE ALABAMA CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT  
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

**★ ★ ★**

**THEME:**

**"RELIGION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS  
AND CIVIL LIBERTIES."**

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Exhibit 29. Cover of Brochure on April 13-14, 1962, Birmingham "Conference"  
sponsored by the SCEF.

# BISHOPS' NIGHT, Friday, April 13, 1962

7:30 P. M.

→ **BISHOP EDGAR A. LOVE** ..... Chairman  
Bishop Baltimore Area, The Methodist Church  
President, Southern Conference Education Fund, Inc.

**MUSIC** ..... Guy Carawan (Folk Singers)

**WELCOME AND PRESENTATION OF THE CHAIRMAN:**  
The Rev. Edward Gardner ..... First Vice-President  
Alabama Christian Movement For Human Rights

**READING OF SCRIPTURE** ..... The Rev. J. H. Calloway,  
Pastor, Tabernacle Baptist Church

**INVOCATION** ..... The Rev. C. Woods,  
Pastor, East End Baptist Church

**GREETINGS—(2 minutes each):**

**BUSINESS** ..... Mr. L. S. Gaillard, Jr.  
President, Gaillard Company

Dr. Otis J. Williams ..... Manager, Citizens Walgreen Drug Agency

**EDUCATION** ..... Mrs. L. B. Robey,  
Principal, Dudley School

**LABOR** ..... Mr. Arbury Howard,  
Eastern Vice-President, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers

**LAW** ..... Atty. Ernest D. Jackson  
Jacksonville, Florida

**RELIGION** ..... The Rev. J. L. Ware,  
President, Birmingham Baptist Ministers Conference,  
President, Inter-Citizens Committee

**YOUTH** ..... Mr. Nathaniel Lee,  
Organist, Director of Movements Choir

**MUSIC** ..... The Alabama Christian Movement For Human Rights Choir

**AWARD** ..... Statement by Mr. Aubrey W. Williams,  
President Emeritus, Etc.

**RESPONSE** ..... The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth  
President, Alabama Christian Movement For Human Rights

**STATEMENT** ..... Mr. W. E. Shortridge,  
Treasurer, Alabama Christian Movement For Human Rights

**PRESENTATION OF MAIN SPEAKER** ..... Dr. L. H. Pitts,  
President, Miles College

**ADDRESS** ..... DR. HOWARD SCHOMER,  
President, Chicago Theological Seminary,  
President, International Fellowship of Reconciliation

**COMMENT—(5 minutes each)** ..... Panel of Bishops

Bishop S. L. Greene ..... Bishop C. Eubank Tucker

Bishop W. M. Smith ..... Bishop Jasper Roby

**BENEDICTION** ..... Rev. J. C. Wilson,  
Pastor, St. Paul Methodist Church

## SATURDAY, April 14, All-Day Workshop Sessions

### "Techniques For Action"

9:00 A. M.—BRIEF OPENING SESSION

**PRESIDING OFFICER: THE REV. FRED L. SHUTTLESWORTH** ↗

President, Alabama Christian Movement For Human Rights

9:15-11:30 A. M.—WORKSHOPS—(Two running concurrently)

1. How Can We Carry On Effective Voter Registration Campaigns?

Chairman: W. P. MITCHELL ..... Secretary, Tuskegee Civic Association  
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Resource People: HOSEA L. WILLIAMS ..... President  
Southwest Georgia Crusade for Voters, Savannah, Georgia

BOB MOSES ..... Field Secretary,  
Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, Jackson, Mississippi

CHARLES JONES ..... Field Secretary, SNCC  
Albany, Georgia

**MILES HORTON** ..... Director, Highlander Center,  
Knoxville, Tennessee

2. How Can We Obtain and Implement Court Decisions Favorable To Integration?

Chairman: THE REV. C. T. VIVIAN ..... Executive Committee, ↗  
Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action;  
former Vice-President, Nashville Christian Leadership Council

SUB-TOPIC I:

LAW FOR THE LAYMAN; OMNIBUS SUITS

Resource People: LEN HOLT ..... Civil Rights Attorney,  
Norfolk, Virginia

ERNEST D. JACKSON, SR. .... Civil Rights Attorney,  
Jacksonville, Florida

SUB-TOPIC II:

COMMUNITY ACTION: APPEALS TO CONSCIENCE

Resource People: MISS RUBY DORIS SMITH ..... Executive Secretary,  
Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, Atlanta, Georgia

THE REV. EZEKIEL BELL ..... Chairman,  
Community Service Committee, Huntsville, Alabama

D'ARMY BAILEY ..... Student Freedom Committee,  
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

WILLIAM HANSEN ..... Field Secretary, SNCC,  
Cambridge, Maryland

THE REV. WILLIAM B. ABBOTT ..... Secretary,  
Interracial Fellowship of Norfolk, Virginia

THE REV. C. HERBERT OLIVER ..... Secretary,  
Inter-Citizens Committee of Birmingham; Instructor at Miles College

Exhibit 31. Third page of Exhibit No. 29.



12:30- 1:30 P. M.—LUNCHEON—

1:30- 2:00 P. M.—REPORTS FROM MORNING WORKSHOPS

2:00- 5:00 P. M.—WORKSHOP:

"How Can We Inform and Involve More People in the Integration Movement?"

Chairman: JAMES FOREMAN ..... Executive Secretary,  
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Atlanta, Georgia

SUB-TOPIC I:

GETTING BETTER AND FULLER COVERAGE  
IN THE NEWS MEDIA

Resource People: GOULD MAYNARD ..... Public Relations Director,  
Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Georgia

→ CARL BRADEN ..... Field Secretary,  
Southern Conference Educational Fund;  
Associate Editor, The Southern Patriot, Louisville, Kentucky

JAMES R. WOOD ..... Public Relations Director,  
Capitol Radio, Atlanta, Georgia

SUB-TOPIC II:

PROTECTING OUR RIGHT TO SPEAK AND  
ESTABLISHING CIVIL LIBERTIES

→ Resource People: BENJAMIN E. SMITH ..... Attorney  
Louisiana Civil Liberties Union;  
→ Treasurer of SCEF, New Orleans, Louisiana

MISS ELLA I. BAKER ..... Consultant in Human Relations,  
Southern Region, YWCA

SUB-TOPIC III:

ACTIVATING THE CONVINCED AND INFLUENCING  
THE UNCONVINCED

Resource People: HENRY THOMAS ..... Field Secretary,  
Congress of Racial Equality, St. Augustine, Florida

THE REV. MURRAY COX ..... Chairman,  
Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

→ THE REV. JAMES ZELLNER ..... Methodist Minister,  
Century, Florida

THE REV. KELLY MILLER SMITH ..... President,  
Nashville Christian Leadership Council

THE REV. JOSEPH ELLWANGER ..... Pastor,  
St. Paul Lutheran Church, Birmingham, Alabama

→ MRS. CLARICE CAMPBELL ..... Instructor,  
Claflin College, Orangeburg, South Carolina

Exhibit 32. Fourth page of Exhibit No. 29.

# Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

PUBLISHERS OF The Southern PATRIOT

822 PERDIDO STREET, NEW ORLEANS 12, LOUISIANA • JACKSON 2-7226  
805 St. Mark's Ave., Brooklyn 13, N. Y. : IN. 7-1196

027909

July 18, 1960

President  
Anthony W. Williams

Vice-Presidents  
Dr. Herman H. Long  
Wiley Edgar A. Lee  
Stephen A. Riddle

Secretary  
Dr. James L. Hays

Assistant Secretary  
Mrs. Fred Engel

Treasurer  
Stephen E. Smith

Executive Director  
James A. Dombrowski

Field Secretaries  
Anne Braden  
Cory Braden

Dear Jim,

The party last night at the home of Lillian and Joe Miller on Fire Island went off agreeably. The weather was beautiful, about 80 people attended, and the response was cordial.

Marietta Dockery, daughter of a dentist friend of the McLanes, went down with me and described simply and effectively the sit-in demonstrations in Nashville in which she, as a Fisk student, played a part.

Dorsey Wilkerson, who was weekending with the Howard Selmons on Fire Island, briefly described his impressions gained at Bishop College in Marshall, Texas, and drew a few, clear, discriminating conclusions.

I supplemented both presentations and spoke of the work of the Fund, making the appeal.

The contributions paralleled those of last year, as detailed on the attached sheet.

There were two differences. (a) Several people told me they had just sent in contributions in response to the South Carolina Project appeal letter and hence were not again contributing—at least two such, including Clara Rabinowitz. (b) There were no heavy expenses as there were last year, Anne Braden's plane fare, for example. The costs were only my previous invoice for one visit to Fire Island and the invoice attached, so that the net profit is a fair bit more than last year. And, in addition, I made one contact that promises a party in the city in the autumn.

Will you drop a note of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Miller, Sea View, Ocean Beach P.O., Fire Island, N. Y., for the use of their home and a personal \$50 contribution.

As always,

Dr. James A. Dombrowski

Exhibit 33. Letter from William Howard Melish to James Dombrowski in re activities of the SCEF in New York.

of Social Science, which was placed on the list of subversive organizations by the Attorney General of the United States, and cited as an "adjunct of the Communist Party." Dr. Curry, the Bishop College President who employed Wilkerson, has been connected with the SCEF through his serving as a sponsor of an SCEF conference at Columbia, South Carolina in 1953. He publicly defended Wilkerson during the demonstrations. Dr. C. O. Simpkins has had extensive connections with the SCEF, having been a member of the Board of Directors of the SCEF during 1960 and 1961. During the demonstrations, Dr. Simpkins is reported by the Texas authorities to have had lengthy telephone conversations with Dr. James Dombrowski and the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Executive Director and President, respectively, of the SCEF. The students in the demonstration stated in a press conference that they were getting advice on how to do things from Dr. Simpkins. At the same time, Simpkins is reported to have had other long telephone conversations with various student leaders of the demonstrations, and also with one A. P. Watson, an officer of the NAACP in Texas, and a teacher at Wiley College in Marshall. Simpkins and Wilkerson jointly presided over various student meetings in Marshall, and instructed the students in the technique of demonstrations. The NAACP part in the demonstrations was encouraged by Roy Wilkins at a large NAACP meeting in Dallas on March 5, 1960. At this meeting, Daisy Bates of Little Rock, Arkansas, and Roscoe Dunjee of Oklahoma City were awarded honorary plaques by the NAACP. Dunjee and Daisy Bates' husband, L. C. Bates, are both members of the Board of Directors of the SCEF, and Dunjee is also a member of the Board of Directors of the NAACP. The NAACP took further part in this cooperative effort with the SCEF in the form of about \$70,000 cash for a bail fund put up by the NAACP, delivered on March 21, 1960 by NAACP regional attorney Walter J. Durham, and NAACP attorney, C. B. Bunkley. Bunkley's law partner, Romeo Williams, was identified as a leader of the demonstrations.

Clarence A. Laws was at that time the Field Secretary of the NAACP in Dallas. Laws has been connected with the SCEF since way back in 1947, when that organization was known as the Southern Conference For Human Welfare. It had been cited as a Communist Front 3 years before that, incidentally. In 1947 Laws was listed on the letterhead of the organization as a member of the "Executive Committee" of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare. Laws has also been connected in the past with two other Communist Front, or Communist Infiltrated Organizations; namely, the Southern Negro Youth Congress, cited as subversive by the

Attorney General of the United States, and the Committee On Jim Crow In The Military Services, a Communist infiltrated organization. After an extensive investigation and a Hearing by a Military Board of Inquiry, Laws who was then a Major in the Army, was discharged from the U. S. Army on July 20, 1955, under the provisions of Army Regulation 140-175, which authorizes discharge for security reasons "when such action is necessary in the interest of National Security."

The final item, in answer to your question, Senator Moore, is a very recent "Action Memo," addressed to, "Friends of SCEF everywhere," from the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, President. This memo is being sent out at this moment by the Southern Conference Educational Fund from the New Orleans Office. The whole point of this memorandum which goes to thousands of people, is an attack upon J. Edgar Hoover and the F. B. I., urging that J. Edgar Hoover be removed as director of the F. B. I., because of his criticism of Dr. Martin Luther King. I offer this into the record, Mr. Chairman.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let it be received.

BY REP. DE WITT:

Mr. Rogers, do you have any new evidence in regard to the connection between Dombrowski and any Communist personalities, or groups not discussed in our early reports?

BY MR. ROGERS:

Yes, I do. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer into the record a letter from the files of the SCEF, on the stationery of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, signed by Modjeska Simkins, who is an officer of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. She has been active in the SCEF from its first founding. Now, the Southern Negro Youth Congress has been well identified as a Communist Front Organization by Congressional Committees repeatedly, time and time again. I call the attention of the Committee to the left margin of this letter, where different names are shown as part of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Five of these people are C. G. Gomillion, who was a director of the SCEF in 1961; James Dombrowski, who is currently the Executive Director of the SCEF; Roscoe Dunjee, a director of the SCEF in 1961; Benjamin E. Mays, Vice-President of the SCEF in 1951; and Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, or Modjeska Simkins, a Vice-President of

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.  
822 Perdido Street, Room 408  
New Orleans, Louisiana 70112

TO: Friends of SCEF Everywhere  
FROM: The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, President

ACTION MEMO - Re: J. Edgar Hoover & the FBI

Some time ago we sent you a copy of "UPSIDE-DOWN JUSTICE, The Albany Cases,"\* a documented account of the Georgia police state, of the persecution of nine Freedom Fighters, and of the ineffectiveness of the FBI.

It was this Albany situation which prompted Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. to declare:

"It is tragic that the only instance in which the Federal Government has moved with vigor has been against Negro leaders who have been working to end the evils of segregation."

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, responded to Dr. King's criticism by attacking the integrity and honesty of the beloved civil rights leader; denouncing him as "the most notorious liar in the country."

This intemperate outburst was protested by many civil rights leaders and led at least two of the most influential newspapers in the country to suggest that Mr. Hoover has outlived his usefulness. (See the editorial below from the WASHINGTON POST)

If you, too, feel that Hoover has been in office "too long," please write a letter or send a telegram to President Lyndon B. Johnson giving him your views, and perhaps expressing the hope that Hoover be replaced by a man who will show as much concern for human rights as he does for property rights, and show the same vigor in tracking down those who rob others of their civil rights as he does in apprehending a bank robber.

(\* If you would like an additional copy of UPSIDE-DOWN JUSTICE, write to: SCEF, #22 Perdido St., New Orleans, La. 70112)

Thirty Years

Unaccustomed as he is to public criticism, J. Edgar Hoover customarily responds to its occasional expression by impugning the integrity, virtue or patriotism of his critics. Thus, it was quite characteristic of him to denounce Dr. Martin Luther King (who had presumed to question the FBI's effectiveness respecting civil liberties in the South) as "the most notorious liar in the country." It was equally characteristic of him to call the Warren Commission "unfair and unjust" because it had gently chided the FBI for its role in relation to Lee Harvey Oswald and to refer to eminent judges, including members of the Supreme Court as "bleeding hearts" because they took a different view from his own in interpreting certain clauses of the Bill of Rights.

This kind of talk, if it came from any other bureau chief in any other department of the Federal Government, would be generally recognized as insufferable effrontery on the part of a public servant. It is no less than that though it comes from the Director of the FBI. In the same interview, Mr. Hoover let it be known, as he has done with equal candor in the past, that the FBI is tapping something like 80 telephones continuously and is using information obtained from this wire-

sapping in connection with counter-intelligence activities. There is no question that his purposes are patriotic. But there is no question; either, that he is violating an act of Congress.

Mr. Hoover is a subordinate official of the Department of Justice. The Attorney General must, therefore, accept responsibility for Mr. Hoover's extravagant talk and for his extra-legal action. It is time for the Attorney General to exercise authority over a Bureau which has for far too long been run by Mr. Hoover as though it were a sovereign principality.

Mr. Hoover has held his office for 30 years. He has discharged his duties with probity, efficiency and the highest dedication to his country. His record is an admirable one, and Americans owe him great gratitude. But that gratitude cannot properly be expressed by allowing him to abuse his authority. That authority, by reason of its nature and its impact on civil liberty, must be forever subject to restraint. Unhappily, Mr. Hoover has now demonstrated that he has been in office too long. His retirement, when he reaches retirement age on his 70th birthday, would be a contribution to his own high repute and to the welfare of the Bureau he has done so much to develop.

WASHINGTON POST - November 21, 1964

Exhibit 34. Memorandum from the SCEF attacking J. Edgar Hoover.





Wednesday January 11, 1961

026671

Dearest Jim:

There is no fountain of Youth as you know! It was my daughter, Virginia, (Tillah) who went to the meeting with the young man from the NATION.

I have certainly found no Spring, but I must say that my spirit and my heart are much encouraged and lightened by finding so many people here in the South whom I can admire and love. They are still a handful, but precious, and these are the people with whom I feel closest and most congenial. I do think the Southern people who stand up and are counted are braver and better and more courageous than any people I know and in addition they have a quality of grace or humanity that is so often lacking in some of the other "liberals" and Crusaders I have known. Of course I think you typify this aspect better than anyone I know, you have never lost sight of the human element and that is why all of us who know you well love you so much. I hope one day to get back on the Board and have some occasion to meet with you, but with our slim margin or rather "margin at all," Cliff still does not want me to indulge in "public works" and it really delights my Soul to see him taking the lead and also having all of the abuse. For so long, everyone said I was the one who "got him into trouble" and now they have to admit he can get himself into trouble too.

I thought your letter to Albert Barnett was fine and I do hope we can muster some support for these boys here. Imagine the Methodist Church taking such a stand.

As for Mike and Alton, I have written to Mat Witt to ask him the whole story if he will or can give it to me, but he may be prejudiced against them now, but like you, my mind simply staggers under such an idea as Alton and Mike turning informer against one of their old friends. But Paul told me to be careful as he would not be surprised to see Alton turn informer against me and Cliff and you and Aubrey. As I said he was drinking and I am not sure of his story or of him actually at the present time. The days of our youth up at Highlander when we loved and trusted each other seem a long way removed, and I am glad that there are a few of us left who still do. The story he told me about Niles was too awful even to repeat, and is horrifying. It is so painful and sad to have a place or a person whom you have loved to be blackened so that you don't want to think about it and I don't want to believe these awful tales unless I am sure they are true. But with the betrayals I have seen in Washington like Lee Pressman, I am not prepared any longer to say that it cannot happen under pressure.

Aubrey turned over to me this long and rambling account of the young man in Tallahassee and asked me to try to put it into some readable form, as he found it to be hard and rambling to read. I am trying and will send it back to you when I have done so if it is possible, but it is hard as he is so earnest and so confused. Do you want the original too? Let me know about this.

Lots of love and best wishes and do come and see us when you can. I do hope you are better. Devotedly, Va. Durr

Exhibit 36. Letter from Virginia Durr to James Dombrowski.

# INTERNATIONAL REVIEW SERVICE

ANALYSIS AND REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

A. C. MERRILL EDITOR

065498

UN BUREAU: ROOM 352  
UNITED NATIONS, NY

PLANA 1-6833  
CABLE: UNOVIES

15 WASHINGTON PLACE  
New York 3, USA

24 September 1962

Mr. Jim Dombrowski  
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.  
822 Perdido Street  
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Jim:

I tried Nationwide about Annie Moore, and I have just learned that Nationwide can not write insurance in Cleveland, Mississippi. My people do not have any suggestions and liberal insurance executives are hard to find.

I plan to take up tomorrow your idea of asking Howard K. Smith to speak with Martin Luther King. I'll let you know as soon as I can.

Here's hoping everything goes well.

Cordially,

*Avrahm Mezerik*  
Editor

ACM/rc

Exhibit 37. Letter from Avrahm Mezerik, an identified Communist, to  
James Dombrowski.

October 1, 1962

Dear Avrahn:

I have just returned from Birmingham and am glad to find your good letter of the 24th.

Happily, I think we have Annie Moore covered, but thank you for your efforts.

Johnny Faulk has agreed to be on the program with King, thus I do not think we will need Howard K. Smith for this particular program.

If you do see him, however, please ask how he would feel about being our principal speaker in New Orleans during Human Rights Week in December.

I will be coming to New York for the week of the 29th of October, and I hope you will be in town.

Love to you and Marie,

Sincerely,

Mr. A. G. Mazerik

the SCEF in 1964. This shows that the SCEF is clearly connected with this other Communist Front group.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let it be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

I next offer a letter from the files of the SCEF from Virginia Durr, to Dombrowski, dated January 11, 1961, which shows the attitude of Virginia Durr, a former Vice-President of the SCHW and a board member of the SCEF. This letter speaks for itself and comments on several other Communist personalities, well identified as such, with whom Mrs. Durr apparently has very close personal connections, from the tone of this rather lengthy letter.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let the letter be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

I next offer a letter from the SCEF files dated September 24, 1962, on the stationery of the International Review Service, signed by A. G. Mezerik. Mezerik was well identified as a Communist in 1958 before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee when he took the Fifth Amendment repeatedly in refusing to answer questions about his Communist Party membership and connections. This letter is short and to the point.

(MR. ROGERS READ THE LETTER TO THE COMMITTEE.)

Here is the answering letter from Dombrowski to A. G. Mezerik, dated October 1, 1962, showing the close personal connection between Dombrowski and this well-identified Communist personality.

BY SEN. MOORE:

Mr. Rogers, is the Howard K. Smith mentioned in those two letters the one connected with the television industry?

BY MR. ROGERS:

Yes, it is, it is the same man.

I next offer a letter from the SCEF files into the record, Mr.

Chairman, addressed to Don West from James A. Dombrowski. Don West is a well-identified Communist Party member who took the Fifth Amendment, as to his Communist Party membership and connections before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1957. He was a District Director of the Communist Party in North Carolina as far back as 1934 and 1935. He later served the Party in Kentucky, and throughout the Southern United States. Apparently he is a personal friend of Dr. James Dombrowski. This letter would so indicate. I offer it into the record

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let it be received.

BY REP. STINSON:

Mr. Rogers, this Simkins woman that you referred to, is she related to the Dr. Simpkins in Shreveport?

BY MR. ROGERS:

No, she is not, as far as we have been able to ascertain. Simkins is her married name.

BY SEN. MOORE:

Q—This Dr. Simpkins from Shreveport, is he not a negro Dentist?

A—This is correct, and I am informed that he no longer lives in Shreveport, he left there several months ago, permanently.

Q—You have no other connections between him and the SCEF, other than this letter relating to telephone conversations with some of these Directors and personnel?

A—Yes, Senator, Dr. Simpkins was a member of the Board of Directors of the SCEF in 1960 and 1961.

Q—This is what I wanted to ascertain and bring out.

BY MR. ROGERS:

This final letter which I offer in answer to your question, Representative De Witt, is a letter from the SCEF files dated March 25, 1959, addressed to Mr. Robert F. Williams in Monroe, North Carolina, from Carl Braden. Carl Braden, as you know, is a Communist Party member. Robert F. Williams, at this time, was Presi-

February 16, 1961

.003674

Dear Don:

Aubrey has shared with me your latest chapter in the modern version of Job. I declare it does seem that nothing more could happen to you.

Is there anything that I can do to help you financially or otherwise?

It will be a great pleasure for me to be of some assistance, and if you need money, do let me know what is required. There are many who respect and love you and for whom it would be a privilege to share some of your load.

Good luck with your manuscript!

Sincerely,

Mr. Don West ✓

Exhibit 39. Letter from James Dombrowski to Don West, well known Communist Party member.



44-3887-6

March 28, 1959

Mr. Robert F. Williams  
410 E. Bayne St.  
Monroe, N.C.

Dear Brother Williams:

I plan to be in your part of the country the last week in April and hope that I will be able to see you. Will you be in Monroe about that time and do you think we can get together?

I'm going to be in other parts of North Carolina from about April 20 to 28 and could come down for a brief visit during that period if you are going to be away during the week of the 28th.

The latter would be more convenient for me because I plan to stop on my way into North Carolina.

Please let me know your pleasure on this matter, as I am adaptable to your schedule.

Ann tells me she had a delightful visit with you in Cleveland and I am looking forward to seeing you. Warmest regards from both of us.

Most cordially yours,

Carl Braden

Carl Braden

Copy to George Williams

Exhibit 40. Letter from Communist Party member Carl Braden to Robert F. Williams, Communist revolutionary now in Cuba.

dent of the Monroe, North Carolina, Chapter of the National Association For the Advancement Of Colored People. He later on skipped out of this Country, one jump ahead of the F. B. I., on a charge of aggravated kidnapping. He went from the United States to Cuba, from there he went to Red China where he broadcast propaganda for Mao Tse-Tung, and he then returned to Cuba where he is now, broadcasting the Communist Party propaganda line from Communist Cuba. Evidently he and Carl Braden are personal friends, and have been for some time, according to the tone of this particular letter, which we offer into the record.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let it be received.

BY SEN. MYRICK:

Mr. Rogers, I would like to ask you a question: What about the funds for the SCEF, where do they come from?

BY MR. ROGERS:

Our research has turned up some interesting points on the funds. I offer into the record a letter dated November 20, 1961, from a Mr. George D. Pratt, Jr., commenting upon his contributions to the SCEF. So far as we have been able to ascertain, Pratt is the largest single contributor to this organization. This letter is a letter of transmittal for \$2,500.00 toward the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee bail-money, and in it Pratt comments about his allocation of \$5,000.00 a year to the SCEF. In our previous reports we have printed other letters showing that he has contributed up to \$20,000 at a time to the SCEF.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

\$20,000 or \$2,000?

BY MR. ROGERS:

\$20,000.

The next item, to answer your question, Senator, is a letter from the files and on the stationery of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, dated March 9, 1962, commenting on a fund-raising dinner at the Hotel Biltmore in New York. This letter mentions that about \$12,500 was raised for the Fund at this particular dinner, and it goes on at some length to discuss the financial

affairs of the organization. Its signed by Hubert P. Delaney, and Morris Mogulescu, who are co-chairmen of the New York Friends Of The SCEF. This was Dr. William Howard Melish's operation in the New York area. About one-half of the funds to run this organization are raised right in and around New York City. Mr. Chairman, I offer it into the record.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let it be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

I next offer a letter from the SCEF files addressed to Mr. Alfred K. Stern, from James A. Dombrowski, dated February 20, 1952. This letter acknowledges receipt of contributions to the Southern Conference Educational Fund from Alfred K. Stern. This one is particularly significant because Stern, identified herein as a contributor to the SCEF, has a very long Communist Front record, and he is currently at this moment in Communist Czechoslovakia where he and his wife, Martha Dodd Stern, are living to evade an indictment pending against them in New York. The indictment was issued by a New York Grand Jury on September 9, 1957, charging them with spying for the Soviet Union. They skipped the Country, and skipped a very large bail, and went to Communist Czechoslovakia where they are now living. The charge in the indictment is that they actually engaged in espionage for the Soviet Union. This letter identifies these people as contributors to the SCEF. I offer it into evidence, Mr. Chairman.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let it be received.

BY REP. STINSON:

Mr. Rogers, are they related in any way to Edgar Stern?

BY MR. ROGERS:

Yes, this is the same family.

The next letter from the SCEF files is a letter to the Southern Conference Educational Fund from a man named Kivie Kaplan, who is a member of the National Executive Committee of the NAACP. He is a contributor to the Southern Conference Educational Fund.



007867

November 20, 1961

Mr. James Donagowski  
Southern Conference  
Educational Fund,  
822 Perdido Street,  
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Jim:

Enclosed is \$2500 towards the SNCC bail money.

What with my shots in the arm to CORE, Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, Highlander, United Negro College Fund, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, your special projects, a seven-year pledge to the N.A.A.C.P. paid in a lump sum last week, plus a few odds and ends that do not particularly concern the colored people, I'm running dry.

I realize that this situation is to be in perpetual crisis for some years to come, and in order to more or less keep my support under control, I think it would be best for me to try to allocate \$5000 a year to the S.C.L.C. and not get in on any more crash programs. This is not a firm pledge, but you're likely to get it if the dough is forthcoming.

Glad to hear that you had a spell of pleasant vacation in Florida. We're going to Hopetown, Abaco, in the Bahamas on December 20th for about a month. Very small and quiet place, transportation by foot and bicycle only, and no running water or electricity in our cottage. It ought to be just right.

Sincerely,

George D. Pratt Jr.

Exhibit 41. Letter from George D. Pratt, Jr., large contributor to the SCEF.

# Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

NEW YORK AREA OFFICE

908 ST. MARK'S AVENUE, BROOKLYN 17, NEW YORK • INGRESOLL 7-1190

009512

March 9, 1962

**OFFICERS**  
**President Emeritus**  
Aubrey W. Williams  
**President**  
Bishop Edgar A. Low  
**Vice-Presidents**  
Dr. Herman H. Long  
Mortimer M. Siskin  
**Secretary**  
Dr. James L. Hogg  
**Treasurer**  
Benjamin E. Smith  
**Staff**  
James A. Dombrowski  
Anne Braden  
Carl Braden  
Wm. Howard Holick  
Hazel Gaudin  
Dorothy Johnson

Dear Friends:

The reception for Carl and Anne Braden at the Hotel Biltmore was a warm and spirited evening.

In spite of uncooperative weather that affected attendance, especially from the suburbs, about \$12,500 was raised for the Fund. In the course of the following week, modest affairs in Philadelphia, New Haven, Hartford, Springfield, Cambridge and Brookline brought in an additional \$2,000.

We were pleased that our main speaker, the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, executive director of Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Movement, whose plane was grounded in Philadelphia because of the snow, made a successful effort by limousine, train and taxi to get to New York in time to deliver an impressive address.

His presence, along with that of Mrs. Ella J. Baker of the National Y.W.C.A. and Mr. Robert Zellner of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was evidence of the close working relationship that exists between our various organizations at work in the South.

Since the reception, we have been shocked by the news that "Bob" Zellner and "Chuck" McDew, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who was also present as a guest at the Hotel Biltmore, are being held prisoner in East Baton Rouge Parish jail, where they went—after the reception—to visit a student committee colleague, Dion Diamond.

These three young men are being charged with "criminal anarchy" under a recently-adopted Louisiana statute aimed at persons engaged in the struggle for integration. Bail for McDew and Zellner has been set at \$7,000 each, and for Diamond at \$11,000. The statute provides for a maximum prison sentence of ten years at hard labor!

The salary of "Bob" Zellner, as a Field Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Committee, has been paid by an outright grant to that Committee by the Board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

As the struggle for integration intensifies in the deep South, you will appreciate the need for continuing financial support. If you are among those who contributed at the reception, our thanks to you. If you could not be present, will you send a contribution today.

Sincerely,

*Hubert T. Delany*

Hubert T. Delany

*Maurice Magaleacu*

Maurice Magaleacu

Co-Chairman, New York Friends of S.C.R.F.

Exhibit 42. Letter concerning an SCEF fund-raising dinner  
in New York, March, 1962.



and this letter is a letter of transmittal for his contribution.

The next letter which is apparently an answer to this last one is dated March 4, 1963, from James Dombrowski to Kivie Kaplan thanking him for his contribution, and it has on it significantly, a hand-written note by Carl Braden, commenting on the fact that the SCEF and Braden had evidently been trying for about 5 years to bring Kivie Kaplan into their sphere of influence. Apparently they were successful, as this letter indicates that he was fully aware of their not having any tax exempt status, which had been taken from them by the U. S. Department of Revenue some years previously. These letters which I have shown you here are a sample of the contributors and the sources of funds. Mr. Chairman, I offer them into the record.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let them be received.

BY REP. STINSON:

Mr. Rogers, has your research developed any connection between the Southern Conference Educational Fund and the NAACP?

BY MR. ROGERS:

There are several very obvious connections. The first item I would like to offer is a photograph of the cover of a brief filed in the U. S. Supreme Court within the last two months by the Legal Defense And Educational Fund of the NAACP, supporting James A. Dombrowski, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund. This is filed in the litigation which is now pending before the U. S. Supreme Court against the State of Louisiana.

One of the lawyers representing the Southern Conference Educational Fund and James Dombrowski, in their litigation against this Committee and this State, is a man named A. P. Tureaud, of New Orleans, Louisiana. He is the counsel for the NAACP in the State of Louisiana, and he is also counsel for the SCEF in this particular litigation. We made a staff study of the interlocking directorate, or interlocking leadership, between the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and the NAACP, and I hold in my hand here a list which we will print in this record. (Off the record comment.) This list of jointly held offices, past and present, in the NAACP and the SCEF, clearly demonstrates that these two organizations are functioning at this time with an interlocking directorate of



February 20  
1952

Mr. Alfred K. Stern  
R.F.D. 5  
Ridgefield, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Stern:

This will acknowledge receipt of your note. Our procedure is to send a letter to our entire list of contributors in January of each year and to follow with a reminder in the month in which their last contribution was made. In your case this would be in December. This will explain why you received an appeal letter so soon after you had made a contribution in December.

We are most grateful for your interest and support. We enclose a release which may be of special interest to you.

Sincerely,

James A. Dombrowski  
Director

1/3  
Enc.

*Original Summary Release*

Exhibit 43. Letter from James A. Dombrowski to Alfred K. Stern, currently a fugitive from an espionage indictment in New York.

007891



PATENT RIFLE SHOES (BLACK & COLORS)  
HANDSOM PATCH LEATHER (BLACK & COLORS)  
SUE SHOES - SMOOTH DRESS SHOES  
GLOVE LEATHERS - HANDSOM LEATHERS  
SUE LEATHER SPECIALTIES  
NATURAL SOLE SHOES - ODEE LININGS  
SUEE SLITS

# COLONIAL TANNING COMPANY, INC.

195 SOUTH STREET • BOSTON 11, MASS.  
TELEPHONE - LIBERTY 2-5840 CABLE - COLONIAL BOSTON

February 28, 1963

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.  
822 Perdido Street - Room 404  
New Orleans 12, La.

Gentlemen:

I am pleased to enclose a small check for the wonderful work that you are doing, and I take it that contributions are not deductible.

I would appreciate a detailed statement of your operations, your income, receipts, budget, etc., as you know, I am very, very much interested in this type of work and would like to know more of your operations, having in mind if possible to be of more help.

Sincerely yours,

*Kivie Kaplan*  
Kivie Kaplan

KK/ip  
Enc 1)

ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO BOSTON  
• Tanners • BELLEVILLE N.J.  
• Japanese • CANON JUNCTION, MASS.  
• Shipping Dept. • BOSTON, MASS.

Exhibit 44. Letter from Kivie Kaplan, Member of the National Executive Committee of the NAACP.

*Jim: It is strange that  
he writes at this late date, in  
view of our contact with him 5  
years ago and his special invitation  
to him to come to 1958 reception  
and meet Mrs. R. We shall see.*  
*QB*

March 4, 1963. 007890

Mr. Elvin Kaplan  
ORIGINAL TANNING COMPANY, INC.  
195 South Street  
Boston 11, Mass.

Dear Mr. Kaplan:

Thank you for your letter of the 28th enclosing your contribution for \$25, together with a request for more detailed information about SCLC and its operations, income, budget, etc.

I am sending you a copy of our last auditor's report for the year 1961, also our treasurer's report for the year 1962. The auditor's report for 1962 will not be ready until later in the spring.

The schedule of special projects and activities will be of special interest to you.

I am also sending a copy of our latest brochure giving a general description of our work, "A Faith for the South," also one or two other publications which you may find of interest.

I believe I had the pleasure of meeting you many years ago, and, of course, I read about your many activities with admiration and just recently I was rather awe-stricken by a news item that you had garnered in 50 or 75 life memberships in the NAACP in the course of a Western trip.

I wish we might have the benefit of your experience in this field. Of course, you realize that raising money for an agency to which contributions are not deductible is much more difficult, and that is one reason, it seems to me, why you might consider giving us some special help.

I deeply appreciate your interest and would welcome any additional questions about our activities.

Sincerely,

James A. Dombrowski

Exhibit 45. James Dombrowski's answer to Kaplan letter (Exhibit No. 44) Note handwritten note by Communist Carl Braden.

leadership, common leadership. We offer this into the record, Mr. Chairman.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let it be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

I would like to further offer into the record as a commentary on the litigation which is pending between the SCEF and the State of Louisiana, the covers of two other Amicus Curiae Briefs, filed in the U. S. Supreme Court supporting the SCEF. One of them is filed by the National Lawyers' Guild, and the other is filed by the American Civil Liberties Union. I offer these into the record, Mr. Chairman.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Let them be received.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Mr. Chairman, I have another witness I would like to present to the Committee, but I recommend that we take a ten-minute recess before we hear his testimony.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

So ordered.

#### 10-MINUTE RECESS

\* \* \* \* \*

BY MR. ROGERS:

Mr. Chairman, we call as our next witness, Dr. William Sorum.

\* \* \* \* \*

THE WITNESS, DR. WILLIAM SORUM, AFTER FIRST HAVING BEEN DULY SWORN TO TELL THE TRUTH, THE WHOLE TRUTH, AND NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH, SO HELP HIM GOD, TESTIFIED AS FOLLOWS:

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IN THE  
**Supreme Court of the United States**  
October Term, 1964  
No. 52

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**JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI, et al.,**

*Appellants,*

—v.—

**JAMES H. PYSTER, etc., et al.,**

*Appellees.*

---

ON APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA

---

---

**MOTION FOR LEAVE TO FILE BRIEF AMICUS  
CURIAE AND BRIEF AMICUS CURIAE**

---

**JACK GREENBERG**

**DERRICK A. BELL, JR.**

*Counsel for NAACP Legal Defense  
and Educational Fund*

*10 Columbus Circle*

*New York, New York 10019*

**ANTHONY G. AMSTERDAM**

**JAY H. TOPKIS**

*Of Counsel*

---

Exhibit 46. Cover of brief by the NAACP supporting the SCEF.

NAME	NATIONAL OFFICE IN THE NAACP (1964)	OFFICE IN THE SCEF
Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood	Chairman, Board of Directors	Board of Directors 1961
Russcoe Dunjee	Vice President	Board of Directors 1961
A. Phillip Randolph	Vice President	Conference Sponsor and Consultant - 1940-1942 (SCHW)
Dr. Benjamin Mays	Vice President	Vice-President 1951
Bishop W. J. Walls	Vice President	Petition Signer and Conference Sponsor 1955
Hubert T. Delany	Executive Committee	Co Chairman N. Y. Friends of SCEF
Kivie Kaplan	Executive Committee	Contributor
Earl B. Dickerson	Executive Committee and Board of Directors	Protest Signer 1954
C. Herbert Marshall	National Health Committee	Board of Directors 1964
Arthur J. Mandel	National Legal Committee	Declaration Endorser 1948
Shad Polier	National Legal Committee	Member N. Y. Friends of SCEF
Louis L. Redding	National Legal Committee	Board of Directors 1962
Arthur D. Shores	National Legal Committee	Letter Signer 1958
A. P. Tureaud	National Legal Committee	Legal Counsel 1964
Bishop Edgar A. Love	National Life Membership Committee	President 1964
Clarence Laws	Southwest Regional Secretary	Executive Committee 1947 (SCHW)
L. C. Bates	Field Secretary	Board of Directors 1964

Exhibit 47. List of various National Officers of the NAACP showing their office or connection in the SCEF.



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IN THE  
**Supreme Court of the United States**

OCTOBER TERM, 1964

—  
No. 52  
—

JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI, ET AL.,

v.

JAMES H. PFISTER, ET AL.

—  
On Appeal from the United States District Court  
for the Eastern District of Louisiana,  
New Orleans Division  
—

**MOTION FOR LEAVE TO FILE BRIEF AMICUS CURIAE  
IN SUPPORT OF APPELLANTS BENJAMIN E. SMITH  
AND BRUCE WALTZER**

**AND:**

**BRIEF OF NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD AMICUS CURIAE  
IN SUPPORT OF APPELLANTS BENJAMIN E. SMITH  
AND BRUCE WALTZER**

—  
ERNEST GOODMAN  
3220 Cadillac Tower  
Detroit 26, Michigan

DAVID REIN  
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Exhibit 48. Cover of brief from the Communist Front "National Lawyers Guild  
supporting the SCEF.

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# Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM, 1964

No. 52

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JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI and SOUTHERN CONFERENCE  
EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.,

*Plaintiffs-Appellants,*

BENJAMIN E. SMITH and BRUCE WALTZER,

*Intervenor-Appellants,*

against

JAMES H. PFISTER, individually and as Chairman of the Joint  
Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities of the Lou-  
isiana Legislature, RUSSELL R. WILLIE, individually and as  
Major of the Louisiana State Police Department, JIMMIE H.  
DAVIS, individually and as Governor of the State of Louisiana,  
JACK P. F. GREMILLON, individually and as Attorney General  
of the State of Louisiana, COLONEL THOMAS D. BURBANK, in-  
dividually and as Commanding Officer of the Division of Loui-  
siana State Police, and JIM GARRISON, individually and as  
District Attorney for the Parish of Orleans, State of Louisiana,

*Defendants-Appellees.*

ON APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR  
THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA, NEW ORLEANS DIVISION

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## MOTION FOR LEAVE TO FILE AND BRIEF OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION AND THE LOUISIANA CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, *AMICI CURIAE*

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Exhibit 49. Cover of brief from the "American Civil Liberties Union" supporting  
the SCEF.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—Please state your name for the record, Doctor?

A—William Sorum.

Q—You are from New Orleans, Doctor?

A—That's right.

Q—Are you appearing here today voluntarily in response to a request by the Committee?

A—That's right.

Q—Are you the same Dr. William Sorum who appeared before the House Committee on un-American Activities in New Orleans on February 15, 1957?

A—Yes, sir.

Q—And testified then as a cooperative witness concerning your former membership in the Communist Party?

A—That's right.

Q—During what period of time were you a member of the Communist Party?

A—From approximately 1945, when the Party was reorganized in this country; I was active in what you might call the "Front Outfit", "Citizens for Progressive Education," or something like that which was the defacto Party until they reorganized the Party, and reformed it, and at that time I entered it. Then, roughly about late 1951, having been in bad graces for some time, finally I formally quit, and was put out about the same time.

Q—What office or position of leadership did you hold in the Party?

A—I was at one time Youth Director, I have been Educational Director for the Party at one time. I was a member of the State Committee of the Communist Party, and a group within this called the Secretariat as well. I worked in the Party, as well, on the Committee on Organization.

Q—Dr. Sorum, in your 1957 testimony, you identified some 42

people that you knew personally as Communist Party members, and stated that you estimated that at one time there were about 250 Communists in the New Orleans area, is this correct?

A—That's approximately right.

Q—You also gave the Committee other information in Executive Session at that time, didn't you?

A—That's right.

Q—I believe you also testified in 1957, while you were in the Communist Party, you were told to work in the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, is that correct?

A—That's right, it was one of the main organizational outlets, and it was considered one of the most important things that we had. When the Southern Conference For Human Welfare had their National meeting down here, about 12 of the top Communists in the South were here—of course not actively as Communists, but we did meet by ourselves to discuss how the meeting of the Southern Conference should be conducted and run. The leader of the Communist group at the time of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare meeting was Nat Ross who was the head of the Communist Party in the South. Tex Dobbs, who at the same time was sitting in the Chair of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare meeting at different times, was another Communist Party member. I think it was a 2 or 3 day meeting, and Louis Burnham was also here. He was one of the top Negro leaders in the Communist Party. I think that was the time when Goff was here.

Q—Irving Goff?

A—That's right, I think he was here. The Communists met separately to discuss the policies of the organization, how best to guide it along and influence it.

Q—By organization, you mean the Southern Conference For Human Welfare?

A—Yes, most of whose members, of course, were not Communists. Many, as well as some of the names you mentioned earlier, were people who you might say were fellow travelers, and some of them who were not even that, who honestly shared what they considered a democratic viewpoint. The Communists were running this organization, actually pretty much in the meetings, as well as

having their own meetings to determine policy.

BY SEN. MOORE:

Q—Dr. Sorum, I would like to ask you if the Communists actually organized this organization?

A—I don't think they actually organized it, I think it was a setup that was quite easy to get into. You see, sometimes they would enter existing organizations and slowly take them over, like we did in New Orleans with something called the New Orleans Youth Council. It was organized quite separately through non-Communist sources, which we just worked harder and took over; and ran sort of completely along the same kind of lines. That was a local, limited operation. The Southern Conference, I think from the beginning, must have had important people in it because it was important enough where a lot of trade-union leaders who were Communists were giving orders to get their people active in it. Everybody that was in the Communist Party was pretty active in this thing, and the intellectual climate around there among the inner circle was strongly Communistic. I can remember sitting in the office when they were setting up the offices of the Southern Conference on Perdido Street here in New Orleans. There were people typing out different notes, and there were volunteers working there, mostly non-Communist, but a few of us that were Communists were there speeding things up. I remember one fellow telling me what a great future this group had, that it was a rudimentary office now, but it probably was a rudimentary office in Russia in 1918.

Q—Would there be any significant turnover of membership, the original members of these organizations, when it became apparent that the Communists had infiltrated and were actually directing the policies of the organization?

A—Well, different people have different levels of awareness of these things. The Communists have been successful in selling to many honest people the line that "red baiting" is an attempt to obscure, so some people would get out early frightened by the charge of Communism. Others would wait longer and then see what was going on and then get out, but certainly they lost a lot of mass support after the Congressional hearings. I think it was in 1947 that Governor Ellis Arnall came here at the invitation of the Southern Conference where he made a strong anti-Communist speech and so upset a tremendous amount of people. He mentioned that he had heard rumors about Communism in the organization. He gave a strong



anti-Communist, anti-Soviet speech, as a liberal, which upset a lot of the people tremendously. There was a lot of grumbling among certain people about this. The position of the leadership of the Southern Conference itself—I don't mean of the Party—was mostly that they would say that they would work with anybody. I guess it was an old-fashioned approach to what was a good liberal approach. "We welcome anybody regardless of who they are." They never deviated in this no matter what was said or pointed out.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—The Party itself was using the Southern Conference as a front, wasn't it?

A—I would say it was essentially a Front Organization, it was a mass organization that was an important thing to the Party, and was going to be an instrument of the Party gaining control in the South. They would want to do two things with it: One, of course, you would always want to recruit into the Party youthful, active people to be drawn into this with limited aims. Recruit into the Party, that's one thing. The other thing is to have an organization like this going, fulfilling some of the Party's objectives on a limited basis, as a Front Organization.

Q—Dr. Sorum, did you continue to belong to this organization and work with it until the time you left the Party?

A—Pretty largely, but before I left the Party, for a couple of years I was considered in some mild way as a security risk inside the Party. I don't know whether I should put this in the record or not, but after I was taken down to a Hearing in 1949, at the Grand Jury Hearing, I was then getting pretty "hot," and I also was feeling some discontent which was obvious although I continued to follow directions and rules, and argued on certain issues. I had less to do with these things, and I wasn't really active in the Southern Conference Educational Fund. However, I remember when the Educational Fund was set up and the Board of Directors chosen. I can't remember all of the names, but I am sure of the fact that 3 of the first 5 of the people on the list I knew to be Communists, 2 of whom were Doctors, I think Dr. Obrinsky and Dr. Hodes who I identified in 1957, and there is another one whose name I don't remember. I think he might be out of the Party by now anyway, but he was a Professor at some University.

BY SEN. MOORE:



Q—Dr. Sorum, how were you first aware that you were being considered by the Party members to be sort of an outsider on the inside at the time; and how were you officially expelled, or dismissed from the Party?

A—I was actually sort of disenchanted from it, but I think the crucial point happened about 1948 or 1949 when James Jackson, who is one of the top heads of the Party, said that as a Doctor, when I graduated from school, I should go into work in the Rural South. He didn't approve of me going into Psychiatry. He didn't exactly order me to do this, but I think they were disappointed in the decision I made to go into Psychiatry; they regarded Psychiatry as kind of suspect. You know they lost a lot of people who were interested in that field. They like their own Psychiatry. I think from that time on, I was looking to them like a "Bourgeois Intellectual."

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Q—May I ask a question, Doctor? When were you first approached by some member of the Party to become a member of the Party, while you were in Medical School?

A—No, it was before then, I was in the Service, and I just began talking to different people, and they introduced me to people here in New Orleans, and I was transferred here and I just sort of got in this orbit. I guess the first known Communist I met was Emmanuel Levine. I went down to his office and read some of his literature and talked to him. He was the "Director of Progressive Education," or something like that.

BY SEN. MOORE:

Q—Was this because of your own personal interest?

A—I was interested in certain issues and they utilized my concern on these issues to draw me into these things.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—This is the standard pattern, isn't it, Doctor?

A—Yes, I was kind of idealistic, and interested in certain things, I had no religious background, I was looking for causes, and had a strong belief in democracy. They told me that this wasn't possible under the American system of exploitation, and that the race issue could never be solved through the capitalistic system, and that sort of thing.

Q—Isn't this generally the pattern that all the Fronts, including the SCEF, used to bring dupes and innocent people into the Party work?

A—That's right.

Q—Doctor Sorum, you mentioned you remember when the SCEF was set up from the SCHW; as a matter of fact, they just continued the same function under a different name in the same offices, didn't they?

A—I think this was essentially so, I think they just continued as a more of a shoe-string operation after they lost their wide-base importance as a result of the Congressional hearings. There is no doubt that the attacks on them cost them a lot of their membership. I feel they just sort of changed their name and then continued on a more shoe-string basis, on a more limited basis. I have the feeling also—this is only my feeling—that they tried less to be a mass organization and more of what we might call a transmission organization. This is only my own theorizing. Then they would work into other groups, in an attempt to influence other groups they didn't control, and in an attempt to look more respectable. They would work their individuals in with other groups and make it look to liberals like they were active and doing the same thing that more respectable groups would do.

Q—Who was the Executive Secretary for the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, and the Executive Director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund during the time that you, as a Communist Party member, worked in and with these organizations and used them as fronts?

A—Dr. Dombrowski was active during all of that time.

Q—Is he still the Executive Director of the SCEF?

A—To my knowledge, yes.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Q—Is that Dr. James Dombrowski?

A—Yes, sir.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—Do you know him, Doctor?

A—Yes, I had met him many times, I never was introduced to him in any Party connection, but only as a member of his organization. I met him a lot socially, and a lot in organizational work, not as a Communist; I never talked to him as this, and I never presented myself to him as this.

Q—However, the function that he was carrying out was clearly the function directed and provided by the Party, was it not?

A—Right. I was never at any meetings of a Communist nature with him, and never thought of him as a Communist; but I did think of him providing a friendly atmosphere in which—well, he certainly was not an anti-Communist, anyway, and he took the position that anybody was welcome in his organization.

Q—Did you know Paul Crouch?

A—No, I never did know him.

BY REP. DE WITT:

Q—Doctor, did you know Dr. Dombrowski as a Communist?

A—No. I never knew him as a Communist. I didn't consider him as one, we just considered him sort of—well, speaking for myself in retrospect, I guess you would use the word, "fellow-traveler," but he never made anti-Communist statements, or anything like that, he never was opposed to the Communist Party. I think he has made statements even in recent years that anybody is welcome in his organization.

BY SEN. MITCHELL:

Q—But you did meet him at these meetings?

A—At a lot of social groups, and of course, at the Southern Conference itself. I went to many meetings of the Southern Conference, and met him over a period of years.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—This was before Dr. Dombrowski was identified in New Orleans by Paul Crouch and John Butler as a Communist, wasn't it?

A—I have seen him after that time. I saw him after that time when I was invited to a meeting. I wasn't actually in the Party at

the time, but still knew people and they invited me to a party after the Crouch meeting.

BY SEN. MOORE:

Q—Doctor, would you elaborate on the term, "fellow traveler" a little?

A—Many people who are this way may not agree with what they are, but they are more or less someone who can be depended upon to follow a line that is not hostile to the Communist Party. I know many people who would loudly say that they are not Communists, and yet they can be counted on in certain ways to do certain predictable things because of the ideology they have. There are a lot of people who were in the Southern Conference who were not Communists, who regarded themselves as strong liberals, who were not true liberals, I would say, because they would be more or less agreeing with what the Communists' policies and positions were. I feel that a true liberal would have to oppose Communism essentially. He would have to be opposed to anything of that conspiratorial nature.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—Doctor, has the SCEF and the SCHW been successful in carrying out the Party aims?

A—Well, I would imagine they have. I was just listening to some of the testimony and you mentioned the names of a lot of people I am sure certainly are not Communists, but the "fronts" are able to get these peoples' names listed on letterheads, and all that. Also I recognize that interspersed were some of the old names that I recognized from the old days, people probably who are Communists, or under Communist discipline. So I think they have been able to use a lot of honest people probably as "patsies."

Q—Isn't this the prime function of such a Front, to take peoples' idealism and through it bring these people into the sphere of influence of the Party itself?

A—That's one of the functions the way the Party looks at it. I can't answer how Dombrowski, himself, might have been looking at it, he may very well believe in the job that he is doing, but I do know that the Communists would regard this group—they certainly did regard this group in my time—as the crucial mass organization to use in this area.

Q—Dr. Sorum, the Committee doesn't want to pry into your personal views, or opinions, but so that we might evaluate your testimony about the Southern Conference Educational Fund, would you mind telling us your views on segregation of the races?

A—Well, I am against that. I feel that on moral grounds and as an American citizen, I like to deprive the Communists of one of their best issues, and make Citizenship rights available to everybody.

Q—Has it been your experience that the racial issue has been an effective cover for recruiting unwary, idealistic people into Communist Front activity?

A—Yes, myself for instance. I mean, this is one of the big things they use. They claimed that only the Communists are fighting on this issue, and they would try to worm into every organization that fought on this issue. They controlled the National Negro Congress which they tried to set up against the NAACP because they couldn't control the NAACP. They controlled and managed the Southern Negro Youth Congress, and on the same basis they set up the Civil Right Congress in opposition to American Civil Liberties Union. The money that all of these groups raised was usually funnelled into Communist causes and Communist things. I don't think they were sincere about the racial issue. I felt they were just using it as an issue, not to get anything done to help anybody, but to really just exploit a situation that was there.

Q—Were you ever able as a member of the Party to transform your idealism towards helping mankind into any really useful action?

A—No, I think it was all a travesty. I think the Communist Party, as such, is a threat, and it's a conspiratorial organization. I honestly feel by the theoretical ideas involved that it's sort of an inhuman, cold kind of thing, and it exists only to promote its own ends.

Q—Is there anything that you wish to add to your testimony, Dr. Sorum?

A—Well, I do think that it's incumbent upon the people in the Civil Rights Movement, as well as liberals in general, to realize that Communism is certainly not an ally, but an enemy. I feel strongly that honest conservatives should be against the extreme right, thus I think certainly the honest liberals should be against the extreme left, and I think any progress would certainly come through moder-



ate discussion between the true conservatives and true liberals who respect each others' rights as individuals and will realize that nobody is going to ever be completely happy.

BY REP. DE WITT:

Q—Doctor, during your tenure with the Communist Party, did they openly advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States?

A—Well, they never put it that way, the language was a little different. In other words, you want to effect social change, you are working toward this, and to openly change is revolutionary in its nature; but we would always regard that as a slogan somebody was using against us. The Party members would say, "certainly not at this time," but then the theory is, "wait until we become strong enough." The idea then in Communist theory is, "since the change is not being made, it then becomes necessary to move to revolutionary tactics." The Party itself is always a Revolutionary Marxist Party which is going to build on problems of this culture; and not to solve the problems, but to dissolve the culture into a Proletarian culture.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Q—Would it be necessary to have an Army of Party members to accomplish this?

A—No, not at all.

Q—Could it be a few Party members?

A—A few people influencing a lot of other people could go a long way, and can seize the situation, and move people in that direction. That's the reason to get into a lot of other organizations that aren't Communist at all and be able to guide their influence. We were all told to join a Church toward the end, to be Church members, and to be active in the Church; so if anybody exposes us we would say, "No, he is a Church member." Most of us did do this.

BY REP. STINSON:

Q—Did they tell you which Church to attend?

A—No, they wanted us to join a Protestant Church as a rule, because they felt that they couldn't make headway in the Catholic Church at all. The Catholic Church is strongly opposed to the



Communist Party. But if you were a member of the Catholic Church, try to be active in it if possible; but if you were not a member of any Church, try to join some Protestant Church. Often they would join a humanistically oriented Church and become very active in that. A couple of Churches did draw a lot of people.

BY SEN. MOORE:

Q—Would you say that they wanted you to join Protestant Churches because the Protestant memberships have more individualistic ideas and notions?

A—Yes, it was more for protective cover at that time. At that time the Communist Party was put in groups of 3, each branch had only 3 people in it, and they were just looking for protective cover; but also for any place that they could influence the idea of "peace." "Peace" was an issue at that time, and of course, nobody was logically opposed to peace. This was to be used in Churches as a big rallying cry, and this was considered a good issue for a Church, regardless of the right or wrong of the issue. All of these issues were used eventually for the Communists to exploit, rather than to solve the peace issue or the Negro issue.

BY SEN. MITCHELL:

Q—Doctor, did they also encourage you to establish yourself in a position of influence and authority in the field of, say, education, and in the news media?

A—They would want you to work hard in any group you were in. Naturally they would want you to work in any organization even if it was a purely Bourgeoise organization as they call it. In other words, by that I mean, not a "Front" organization. For instance, if you were in the Kiwanis Club, they would like for you to influence people. Anything that you could belong to, they were all for it. They were advising some people to join some Veterans' groups. Most of them decided to join the American Veterans' Committee, which was not Communist, but the Communists made a strong fight to gain control of it for awhile. There wasn't much point in joining the American Legion except in certain places where they could control it, like they did actually control a couple of branches. Now, on this issue there is a peace organization called "SANE," most of whose members certainly are not Communists, but the Party succeeded apparently in grabbing off one of the headquarters of this organization to where SANE had disavowed it. This gives you an

example of how the Communists work. This organization did disavow the Communists, and I think it's an important thing to do because otherwise the good work that the organization might be interested in would be subverted merely to use by the Communists in recruiting and exploiting the issue. They might take up a just case, but that was not for the position of anything but presenting to the Negro people that they were working for them.

Q—Doctor, did you ever hear at any of these meetings a discussion of the activity of this Committee, or similar Committees?

A—Oh, sure.

Q—I would like to know a little bit about the comments they made, and the attitude they had?

A—Mainly, it was to avoid getting caught, techniques to keep out of the way, and that sort of thing. At that time there wasn't so much going on at the State level; I suppose it existed for all I know, but they were concerned with groups that were investigating them. They were very much frightened by Citizens' groups led by Mr. Trapolin in New Orleans, and people like that. He is a Liberal who was investigating; he was strongly anti-Communist and they were concerned about him, trying to discredit him. One thing they do in all of these groups is to try to accuse all of the anti-Communist groups, such as Legislative Committees, of being highly reactionary or racists. The idea is to obscure the issue. If you are against me, you are against me because you are a Negro hater, or a racist, or something, and not just because you are an anti-Communist. Sometimes you will find people that do feel that way, and they will be held up to public scorn. For instance, if there is a figure that seems to be notorious, and who is anti-Communist, the Party will keep talking about it.

Q—In other words, a lot of these moral questions that were raised by them were simply raised to cloud the real issue of injection of Communism, or non-injection of Communism?

A—Yes, I remember a famous speech by somebody which mentioned that Al Capone once made a speech against Communism. The Party said, "This is an example of the kind of thinking of anti-Communists."

BY REP. STINSON:

Q—In what period did you belong to the Party?

A—When it was reconstituted, and my period of heightened activity in the Party was up to about 1949 or 1950, and then I sort of hung on in the Party about a year or so more.

Q—When did it begin?

A—It began in Louisiana as the official Communist Party, but it existed for many years in the State, but it began again after the War in 1945, following the Duclos letter, in which the French Communist Party criticized the American political system. The Americans then reorganized into a Communist Party.

Q—During the time that you belonged, concerning the activities you helped them in, did they provide you with funds to do that?

A—No, we had to raise all of our own money. Of course, there were lots of ways of getting money, one was through front-groups that carried on the activity; but the Communist group itself had little money coming in. They were all low-paid, but most of us who did a lot of work for the Party never were paid anything, we were just dedicated. I guess, in a sense, you might say—it's more like a religion. You believe the thing like you believe a religion, and to me it meant everything in the world because I was looking for a faith, something to belong to.

BY SEN. MITCHELL:

Q—Were these fund-raising activities carried on under the guise of some other cause or reason?

A—Yes, but the Communists couldn't tap a lot of that money directly for party-use. They would get a lot of work done and advance themselves by, for instance, the New Orleans Youth Council. We raised a lot of money there, but we were really doing work for the Party. I was active there, I ran it after a while, and we actually were doing work for the Party; and recruited widely into the Party from this group, most of which were not Communist at all. Then the organization lost its impetus, and we drifted out of that to look further for new organizational forms. We would use one thing like that at a time, and when it would become no longer useful, we would abandon it, and take another one.

BY REP. STINSON:

Q—Was New Orleans the State Headquarters of the Communist

group?

A—That's right.

Q—Did you have many members in North Louisiana?

A—There were some Communists in North Louisiana and Central Louisiana. I addressed a group of share-croppers at one time in one of the Parishes about 50 or 60 miles from here.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Q—Did you ever know Sergeant Caulfield in that respect?

A—Yes.

Q—As a Party member?

A—Yes, I don't know if he still is or not.

BY REP. STINSON:

Q—In any of your investigations, were you given a list of the Communists of Louisiana that you knew when you were in there as a member?

A—I didn't know all of the Communists of Louisiana, but I knew all of the leadership in Louisiana that was in the Party organization, and the House Un-American Activities Committee had a meeting here in 1957 in February, and I was present at that meeting, and I talked to them then.

Q—Have there been any results from the Communist Party, as a result of your testifying at the 1957 Hearing, any threats or anything like that?

A—I have gotten threats from different people, but it was from people, I don't know if they were necessarily Communists because there were all kinds of other people calling up, too. I had to discontinue a phone because day and night I would be awakened by people calling up, obscene telephone calls, or just breathing into the phone. Sometimes they would call me a Communist, and said they knew I still was. There was a Church I belonged to in which people went around telling the Conservatives that I was still a Communist. They also went around telling the Liberals that I was anti-Semitic, and anti-Negro, and that I was an F. B. I. agent. At no time have I ever received any remuneration from anything like

that. I volunteered to make a public statement as a moral issue. I felt it was incumbent upon me, having made this mistake to admit it, and do what I could to rectify it and fight the Communist Party.

Q—The Communists actually are not too much in favor of the Negro race, except as a tool?

A—This is an important issue they can and do use throughout the world to discredit the United States. I imagine that as bad as things are for the Negroes, that the Negro in the United States is better off than anybody in Russia, certainly better off than anyone in China. We should solve our own problems here in America and we don't need any Communist advice or interference, especially in view of their own record of deceit, cruelty and intolerance.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

Dr. Sorum, on behalf of the Committee, the State of Louisiana, and the United States of America, we express our appreciation for your coming up here and giving your testimony. I think you should be commended, not because you became a Communist and got out of it, but because you have come back to being a good citizen and seeing your wrongs, and you have tried to do something about it. That's a failing that many Americans have today. They know they are wrong, but they don't want to do anything about it. We thank you very much, and we respect and commend you for your sincerity and honesty.

BY MR. ROGERS:

Mr. Chairman, I have no further evidence to be offered to the Committee today.

BY SEN. KNOWLES:

This Committee Hearing is closed at this time.

MEETING ADJOURNED

\* \* \* \* \*



## CONCLUSIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

The evidence presented to the Committee in this hearing forcefully confirms the prior findings of the Committee that Southern Conference Educational Fund is in fact a Communist Front organization and is a subversive organization because it is aiding and abetting the Communist Conspiracy. We do again so find at this time, the SCEF is being managed by some 14 or 15 people, at least 5 of whom have been previously identified as Communists. Through the operations of the SCEF, the leadership and influence of these Communists is transmitted to several other organizations. This is done under the guise and cover-story of integration of the races and "civil rights". These issues furnish the emotional appeal to blind the unwary idealist to the facts about the SCEF. Fortunately, several influential liberally oriented individuals and organizations such as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Ralph McGill and the AFL-CIO, have correctly evaluated the SCEF for what it really is, and have set a good example by withdrawing their support from the SCEF. We urge others who have deluded themselves about the SCEF and its leadership to do the same.

The planned program of the Communist party to use the racial issue to further its goal of revolution in the United States has been carried out to a substantial degree. The SCEF has been an obvious and effective part of that program. The main function of the SCEF has been that of a "transmission belt" between the active Communist Party, represented by the leaders of the SCEF, and the so-called "civil rights movement". Through the SCEF, various "civil-rights" organizations such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People have been substantially infiltrated and influenced by fellow-travelers and dupes of the Communist Party. This will be hotly denied, but the facts brought out in this hearing speak for themselves, and we invite those who read this report to examine the evidence in detail and draw their own conclusions. We do not suggest that everyone in the "civil rights movement" is a Communist, but the fact of Communist infiltration of the movement is a fact, and not conjecture.



The Committee has stated in all its previous reports that "rights" do not exist without equal "responsibilities", and one of the prime responsibilities of citizenship is to recognize and reject the false leadership of the Communist Conspiracy. The problems that face the people of this State and nation can and must be solved within the framework of the Constitution. Whatever differences of opinion may exist in the minds of American citizens, practically all of them, both black and white, agree that we do not need the leadership and interference of the Communists to solve our problems.

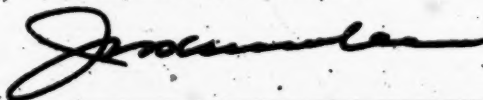
The testimony of Dr. William Sorum shows how a "Communist Front" operates and even more important, shows the aims and functions of a "front" for the Communist Party. They are twofold: first, to recruit dupes, fellow-travelers and members for the Party, and second, to carry out specific Party goals. Dr. Sorum is the first witness since 1954, with a background of actual Communist Party Membership, to testify concerning the role of the Communist Party in infiltrating, taking over and managing the Southern Conference Educational Fund. He is to be commended and praised for his courage and good citizenship demonstrated by his extremely important testimony before this Committee. His testimony makes it clear beyond any doubt, that the SCEF has for many years been simply a tool and a "front" for the Communist Conspiracy.

The 26 year history of open operations by the SCEF and its predecessor, the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, demonstrates the ineffectiveness of Federal legislation and enforcement in the control of Communist Fronts. It appears to the Committee that the subversive functions of a Communist Front should be treated as crime and regulated by the States the same as practically all other kinds of crime. The SCEF has pending at this writing, litigation against the State of Louisiana, asking the United States Courts to rule that no State has the right to legislate against any subversive activities which involve Communists or Communism. We shall soon see what the final result of this litigation will be, the State having prevailed up to this point.

In conclusion, the Committee wishes to state that the keynote of

freedom is the personally responsible individual citizen. If citizens ignore their responsibilities, their freedoms cannot be effectively protected by government at any level. The ultimate solution to the problem of Communist Fronts and other subversive activities lies in an informed and responsible citizenry that will refuse to be duped and used through their own idealism to further the goals of Communist revolution.

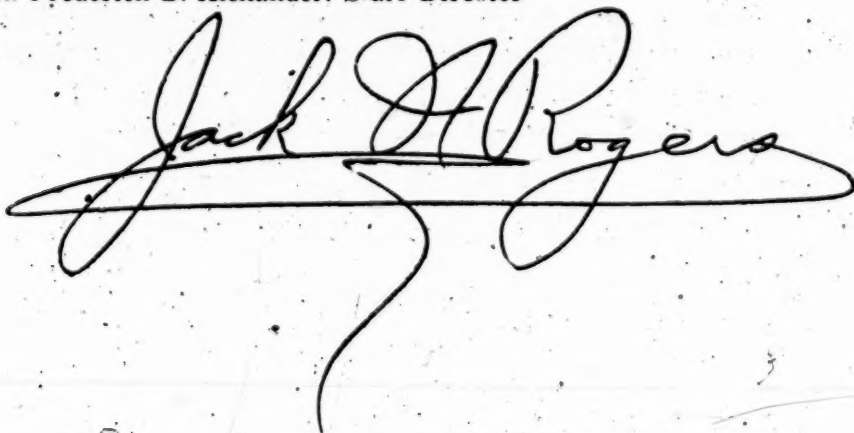
Respectfully submitted,



Jesse M. Knowles, Chairman,  
Joint Legislative Committee On  
Un-American Activities, Senator,  
Allen, Beauregard, Calcasieu, Cameron  
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Senator Jesse M. Knowles, Chairman, Allen, Beauregard, Calcasieu,  
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Senator Harold Montgomery, Bossier, Webster  
Senator Danny R. Moore, Bienville, Claiborne  
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